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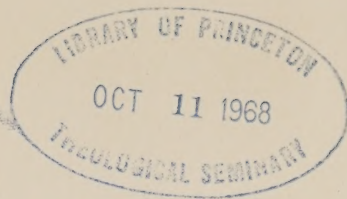
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AMERICA AND PALESTINE

THE ATTITUDE OF OFFICIAL AMERICA AND
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOWARD THE
REBUILDING OF PALESTINE AS A FREE AND
DEMOCRATIC JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

Prepared and Edited by
REUBEN FINK

Compiler and Editor of
THE AMERICAN WAR CONGRESS AND ZIONISM

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Statement by Governor Thomas E. Dewey

"I heartily indorse the Palestine plank in the Republican Party platform. Again I repeat what I previously stated to the great leader of the American Zionist movement and distinguished American Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, that I am for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated to Dr. Silver that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership.

"The American people have time and again declared themselves in favor of these principles. The Republican Party has at all times been the traditional friend of the movement.

"As President I would use my best offices to have our government working together with Great Britain to achieve this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind."

October 12, 1944

ERRATA IN "AMERICA AND PALESTINE"

As a result of necessary last-minute changes in chapters 15 and 16, names listed in the Index as appearing on pages 413-427, will be found on pages one or two lower in number than the Index references.

Page 43 line 15 should read 1922 instead of 1944.

Since the publication of "America and Palestine," two notable statements on Palestine by the Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency of the United States have been issued.

Statement by President Roosevelt

In a Letter to Senator Robert F. Wagner

"Knowing that you are to attend the forty-seventh annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the Delegates assembled my cordial greetings.

"Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional American policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July Convention this year included the following plank in its platform:

'We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.'

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

October 15, 1944

INTRODUCTION

During the First World War, when destiny was believed to be shaping the future of nations, the Zionist cause received new hope and impetus for action. With the issuance of the Balfour Declaration the Movement was catapulted into the realm of practical world politics. As a result, the Zionist Organization of America considered it desirable to ascertain the views of the American Congress on the subject of the Jewish restoration in Palestine. As Washington correspondent for the general and the Jewish press I was asked by the Organization to obtain the written expressions of opinion of the Members of Congress, edit and prepare the material for publication.

A form letter was sent to every Senator and Representative requesting their answers to five specific questions covering the matter of Zionism and the Balfour Declaration. Since the subject was then not nearly so familiar to the non-Jewish Americans as it is today it was necessary for me to confer with most of the Congressmen. The Jewish National Movement often had to be quite thoroughly explained to them. I was called upon to answer more questions than were asked in the circular letter.

The result was a book called *THE AMERICAN WAR CONGRESS AND ZIONISM*, published by the Zionist Organization of America in February, 1919. It contains statements from 300 Members of the 65th or War Congress, 69 Senators and 231 Representatives. It also includes several other documents bearing upon the Balfour Declaration. The impressive array of opinions of the Members of our National Legislature possibly had the effect of strengthening the influence and of enlarging the

scope of Zionism in the United States. The book may have been of assistance in causing the adoption of the Palestine Lodge-Fish Resolution of 1922. It was also referred to by the Members of the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference in Versailles, which I was privileged to report. In the recent Hearings of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives on the pending Palestine Resolution reference was made to THE AMERICAN WAR CONGRESS AND ZIONISM.

Presumably for the reason of historic continuity I have been asked again (by the American Zionist Emergency Council) to prepare a similar book. This volume is intended to contain not only the statements on Zionism by the Members of the 78th Congress but also their speeches on the subject delivered in the Senate or in the House. A number of these are preceded by resumes, for the convenience of the reader. The complete Membership of the Senate is 96, that of the House is 435. This volume contains the opinions of 77 Senators and of 318 Representatives from all the 48 States. If, as it would seem proper, we add the 6 Senators and the 10 Representatives whose statements are not included but who are members of the pro-Zionist American Palestine Committee we have 83 Legislators of the Upper and 328 of the Lower House, or a total of 411 Congressmen. This represents more than 86 per cent of the Membership of the Senate and more than 75 per cent of that of the House.

I have also included herein the views on the establishment of a Jewish Homeland of non-legislative officials of the Federal, State and Municipal Governments. Embraced in these pages are the Palestine Resolutions of State Legislatures, Municipal Assemblies as well as the Zionist declarations of outstanding non-Jewish groups. It was considered advisable to include a brief story of the

development of the Jewish National Movement in this country and a recital of the more important documents relating to Zionism and the Balfour Declaration.

It will be noted that the cause of Jewish Nationalism is now a much more familiar subject to Americans than it was twenty-five years ago. Some of the statements and the speeches of the Senators and Representatives now show an intimate knowledge of the matter and a conviction of the justice of the cause to a degree almost unknown a generation ago. Many outstanding non-Jewish groups and individuals have been crusading for the Zionist ideal so fervently that it reflects great credit upon Christian America. As a Jew and a Zionist I felt a warming sensation of joy and encouragement as I was scrutinizing and studying these sincere expressions of interest and sympathy by so many non-Jewish Americans.

In preparing the material I have been privileged to have the valued advice and co-operation of Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the Publication Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. For the historic part of the book I am indebted to Mr. Bernard G. Richards, of the Jewish Information Bureau. Finally, I wish to express my sense of gratefulness to Mr. Hans Lamm, Assistant for Research and Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council, for his unfailing assistance in supplying me with necessary data and material.

New York, October, 1944.

REUBEN FINK

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PART I

HISTORICAL

1. THE HEBREW INFLUENCE

"From Zion shall come forth the Law and the word of God from Jerusalem," says the prophet Isaiah. Men of good will turn to the East with reverence to renew their ideals. Zionism is one of the symbols of this ideal. While Jews have flocked to their banner of hope, non-Jews have watched with almost equal fervor the heroic struggle of a people to cast off the fetters of centuries.

The modern Zionist Movement, which dates back to the first Zionist Congress in 1897, has, from its very inception, placed its greatest hope upon the good will of the enlightened nations of mankind. Nearly half a century of history testifies to the attainment of this moral support. In no country of the world, with the possible exception of Great Britain which has had a special relationship to the Movement, has good will been more consistent than in the United States of America. The support given to the cause of Zionism by the people and the Government of the United States is one of the encouraging facts in modern Jewish history. It would, indeed, be harboring a gloomy thought to conjecture what the fate of the Jewish enterprise would have been were it not for the powerful backing of this great Democracy.

American sympathy has been all the more magnanimous in that it has been free from taint of political expediency. Irrespective of the party politics of the National Administration, Zionism has been championed with equal steadfastness. The list of the distinguished Presidents of the United States who showed an interest in the cause of Jewish National Restoration goes back to John Adams, the second President of this Republic.

Moreover, sympathy for Zionism in America is not confined to official spheres. With relatively few exceptions, the public press of the country, its pulpit, its educational institutions, its industrial and labor leadership, have generously upheld the rights of the Jews to their ancient Homeland.

When one reflects on the reasons underlying the consistent American manifestation of friendship to the Jewish people's aspirations, one is inevitably led to the conclusion that this attitude cannot be a passing whim dictated by motives of a transitory nature. It may justly be said to constitute a well-defined national policy, the roots of which are discernible in the early history of the settlements in the New World.

"By some curious dispensation of fate the Jews from the beginning have been peculiarly connected with America."* This association expressed itself largely in the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures. As has well been said, "The Englishmen who established themselves in the New World were the most orthodox Puritans, whose intellectual luggage consisted of a system ardently Hebraic."** Their intense love for the Old Testament led to a love of the Holy Land itself. America became "New Canaan" and many of the towns and cities were given Hebrew names or were named after Biblical places, such as Salem, Selah, Zion, Jericho, Palestine, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. These pioneers were enamored not only of the Book, but of the original language of the Scriptures. Not a few of the Puritan fathers were distinguished Hebrew scholars. Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony, for example, had a knowledge of Hebrew for, as he said, he had "a longing desire to see with my own

* C. E. Russell, "Hyam Solomon." 1924.

** Vernon Louis Parrington, "Main Currents of American Thought." 1927.

eyes something of that most ancient language and holy tongue in which the law and oracles of God were written." Elder William Brewster, one of the Pilgrim Fathers, was acquainted with the sacred tongue. Of John Cotton we are told that "the Hebrew he understood so exactly and so readily that he was able to discourse in it." Richard Mather was one of the editors of the Bay Psalm Book, the first book of importance printed in English in America. It was issued in 1640 by the Cambridge Press and consists of an original metrical translation of the Psalms made directly from the Hebrew text by Puritans in the wilderness of New England.

When Harvard College was founded in 1636, Hebrew was one of the compulsory subjects and no scholar could be admitted for a degree unless he was able to translate the Hebrew original of the Bible into Latin. At the College Chapel every morning and every evening a Chapter was read from the Hebrew Bible and translated into Greek. The first graduating class at Harvard, in 1642, offered three theses on Hebrew subjects. Yale College, organized in 1701, took as the insignia on its shield the Hebrew words **אורים וותומים** (*Urim V'thummim**) which still adorn its portals. Similar Hebrew tendencies may be noted in other colleges. Increase Mather, Cotton Mather and Charles Chauncy were skilled Hebraists and delivered public orations in that tongue. The American tradition, stemming from the New England Puritans, is rooted not only in the Old Testament but in the Hebrew language itself. Indissolubly linked with the treasured and revered Book were the yearnings and aspirations centering around Zion. The devout readers of the Scriptures of that day could not help being imbued with the visions

* Symbols of the Sacred Oracle which were part of the equipment of the Israelite Chief Priest.

of Israel's future as prophesied by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos.

It should be noted that the theory that the American Indians represented the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, stirred the imagination of the early settlers and claimed a number of scholars and writers among its exponents. The idea was shared by such outstanding Americanists as Roldan, Garcia, Tjorogood, Adair, Lord Kingsborough and others. The distinguished leaders of the Colonies, among them Roger Williams, John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," Ezra Stiles and other divines had given their adherence to this belief. John Eliot published in 1660 a work entitled, "The Jew in America; or Probabilities that Indians are Judaical."

Jewish Biblical teachings had thus, to a large extent, shaped the development of the self-governing institutions, the introduction of religious freedom, and the evolution of the legal codes of the thirteen original Colonies. Its full force came to the fore in those decisive years of intellectual advancement in America which preceded the War of Independence. In the words of one who later became America's great War President, Woodrow Wilson: "Not a little of the history of liberty lies in the circumstances that the moving sentences of this Book (the Bible) were made familiar to the ears and the understanding of those peoples who have led mankind in exhibiting the forms of governments and impulses of reforms which have made for freedom and self-government among mankind.

"Recalling the previous experiences of the colonists in applying the Mosaic Code to the order of their internal lives, it is not to be wondered at that the various passages in the Bible that serve to undermine Royal authority, stripping the Crown of its cloak of divinity held up before

the pioneer Americans the Hebrew Commonwealth as a model government. In the spirit and essence of our constitution, the influence of the Hebrew Commonwealth was paramount in that it was not only the highest authority for the principle, 'that rebellion to Tyrants is obedience to God,' but also because it was in itself a divine precedent for a pure democracy, as distinguished from monarchy, aristocracy or any other form of government."*

The Hebraic influence is frequently mentioned by American writers and scholars: "It is not necessary here to consider whether those scholars are correct who trace the excellencies of the Roman law back through the Greeks to the Hebrew people. It is certain that Alfred the Great found in the Hebrew writings the principles which he made the foundations of the English constitution; that those principles were inculcated and impressed by the Reformers on their followers, with an insistence which made the Reformation a political as well as an ecclesiastical emancipation; and that from the same fountain source the Puritans drew the political ideals which animated them in their campaign against the Stuarts, and which they transplanted across the sea to incorporate in the Constitution of the American Republic. If we did but know it, every legislative hall, every court house, every public school room, every Christian Church, to say nothing of less visible and tangible manifestations of our national life and temper, are monuments of our indebtedness to this ancient people."**

These views were reflected in the writings of many of the political thinkers of the earlier period, notably Thomas Paine, Jonathan Mayhew, Dr. Ezra Stiles and others. Significant is the following passage taken from

* Woodrow Wilson, "The Bible and Progress." Address May 7, 1911.

** Lyman Abbot, "Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews." 1901.

the "Election Service" delivered in 1775 by Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College and an outstanding divine of New England: "The Jewish government, according to the original constitution, which was divinely established, if considered merely in a civilian view, was a perfect Republic. And let them who cry up the divine right of Kings consider that the form of government which had a proper claim to divine establishment, was so far from including the idea of a King; that it was a high crime for Israel to ask to be, in this respect like other nations, and when they were thus gratified, it was rather a just punishment for their folly . . . civil polity of Israel is doubtless an excellent general model, allowing for some peculiarities; at least, some principal laws and orders of it may be copied in more modern establishments." The sermon was ordered to be printed by the Congress of Massachusetts Bay and sent to each minister in the Colony and to every Member of Congress.

It is a matter of historic record that in the struggle for the ratification of the Constitution by the Legislatures of the various States, the Bible again played a decisive role, the proponents of the Constitution repeatedly invoking it in pleading their cause.

"Great moral causes lie at the root of the greatness of nations," said the renowned historian Lecky, "and it is probable that no nation ever started on its career with a larger proportion of strong characters or a higher level of moral conviction than the English colonists in America . . . America was preeminently the home of the refugees, and this fact is perhaps the most important in its history." This condition is equally true of the history of the Jews in America. From the early Colonial days America has offered them salvation and a refuge from tyranny-ridden Europe. Grateful for the freedom which America has

granted them, the Jews have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the service of their adopted land. The Hebraic influence became more tangible with the arrival of the first Jewish immigrants to the United States. The physical connection of the Jews with America began very early. In the case of South and Central America it antedated the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Although it is difficult to fix with any degree of accuracy the year of the arrival of the first Jewish settlers on the shores of North America, it is nevertheless a matter of record that by the middle of the 17th century Jews were known to have established themselves in the various Colonies of the North. Gradually they made their way to all of the original thirteen Colonies, their leading settlement having been established in Newport, Rhode Island. The Colony was founded by Roger Williams, one of the greatest advocates of religious freedom and a devoted admirer of the Jews and the epic of their history. A passage in his memoirs reads: "I have longed after some trading with the Jews themselves, for whose hard measure I fear the nations and England have yet a score to pay." In keeping with the ideals of the founder, Rhode Island was the first Colony to accord the Jews equal rights and privileges. The newly arrived Jews lent labor, skill and enterprise toward the physical and economic upbuilding of the new settlements in America. "There can be no doubts now that the Jews were an incalculable asset to the young colonists . . . What was imperatively demanded in those venturing settlements was quick and widening communications. The Jews came with exact knowledge of commerce and the skill and experience to prosecute it. Pioneer settlers, intent upon clearing forests and struggling with savages, lacked such equipment. In every seaboard town, it was the Jewish element that, with

capital and enterprise, with wisdom and daring, forwarded business.”*

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Jews numbered about two thousand of a total population of two million, or one-tenth of one per cent. Some of these Jewish settlers had developed extensive interests in the principal seaport towns of Newport, Philadelphia, New York, Charleston and Savannah. They were chiefly engaged in inter-colonial and English trade. Some of the Jewish traders of Newport and Philadelphia were among the largest ship owners in America. Their business interests, therefore, were on the side of England. To support the Revolution meant certain economic ruin. Nevertheless, the Jews were, almost to a man, supporters of the cause of Separation. Jewish names figure conspicuously in the various Non-Importation Agreements and other measures designed to frustrate British trade. Members of the Jewish community were among the first to volunteer when war with England broke out. “The Jews were found in the contingents from nearly all the colonies, and their records as soldiers were brilliant.”**

Concerning Jewish participation in the War of Independence former President Calvin Coolidge said: “The Jews themselves, of whom a considerable number were already scattered throughout the colonies, were true to the teachings of their own prophets. The Jewish faith is predominantly the faith of liberty. From the beginning of the conflict between the colonists and the Mother country, they were overwhelmingly on the side of the rising Revolution.”

Ever since the United States attained its independence, and long before the Jewish community reached its pres-

* C. E. Russell, “Hyam Solomon.” 1924.

** Samuel W. McCall, “Patriotism and the American Jew.” 1924.

ent-day proportions, the Federal Government repeatedly demonstrated its friendship for the Jewish people all over the world. Whenever it could do so with propriety our Government intervened in behalf of the oppressed Jewries of foreign countries. In some cases, when the situation demanded heroic measures, the Government was ready to go beyond the accepted international practice and placed humanity above diplomacy in order to come to the rescue of the Children of Israel. With the exception of Great Britain, whose policy in matters of intervention in behalf of the persecuted and oppressed closely parallels that of our own country, no other nation did so much to succor the Jewish unfortunates wherever their cry of anguish might arise. In some of these helpful efforts, notably those aimed to alleviate Jewish suffering in Morocco, Damascus, Rumania, the diplomatic agents of America found faithful allies in their colleagues of the British Foreign Service.

It is significant that the first American President, George Washington, took occasion to voice his regard and good will toward the Jewish people in several letters addressed to various Jewish communities in the United States.

2. FORERUNNERS OF AMERICAN ZIONISM

Even as the first President of the United States voiced his reverent admiration for Israel so the second President of the Republic, John Adams, manifested his warm interest not only in the Jewish people but in their abiding hope for the restoration as a Nation in their historic Homeland. In a letter which he wrote in 1818 to Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, a distinguished American citizen of the Jewish faith and a pioneer exponent of the Zionist ideal, he said: "I really wish the Jews again in Judea, an independent Nation, for, as I believe, the most enlightened men of it have participated in the amelioration of the philosophy of the age; once restored to an independent government, and no longer persecuted, they would soon wear away some of the asperities and peculiarities of their character. I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every part of the world. This country (America) has done much; I wish it may do more, and annul every narrow idea in religion, government and commerce."*

Another manifestation of American interest in Zionism, antedating the founding of the modern Zionist Movement, was the presentation of a Memorial to President Benjamin Harrison and Secretary of State James G. Blaine, petitioning that they use their good offices and the influence of the United States for the holding of an International Conference "to consider the Israelite claim

* (Discourse on The Restoration of the Jews. Delivered at the Tabernacle, October 28, and December 2, 1844. By M. M. Noah. With a Map of the Land of Israel. New York: 1845 8°. viii. + 65 pp. + folded map. p. vi: "I find similar and stronger sentiments in a letter from President John Adams, written to me when nearly in his ninetieth year, with all the fervor, sincerity and zeal he exhibited in the early scenes of the Revolution.")

to Palestine as their ancient home, and to promote in all other just and proper ways the alleviation of their suffering condition." The presentation of this petition, in 1891, was occasioned by the frightful outrages against the Jews in Czarist Russia. The proposal was conceived, developed and executed by Christians of outstanding position in the community. The prime mover of the undertaking was the Reverend William E. Blackstone, an influential clergyman of national repute, who devoted to it immeasurable zeal and energy. He obtained the assistance of influential citizens and leaders of thought and public affairs in practically all walks of life.

This Memorial was presented to President Harrison on March 5, 1891, and read, in part, as follows:

... Why not give Palestine back to them [the Jews] again? According to God's distribution of nations it is their home—an inalienable possession from which they were expelled by force. Under their cultivation it was a remarkably fruitful land, sustaining millions of Israelites, who industriously tilled its hillsides and valleys. They were agriculturalists and producers as well as a nation of great commercial importance—the center of civilization and religion.

Why shall not the powers which under the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, gave Bulgaria to the Bulgarians and Servia to the Servians now give Palestine back to the Jews? ... If they could have autonomy in government, the Jews of the world would rally to transport and establish their suffering brethren in their time-honored habitation. For over 17 centuries they have patiently waited for such a privileged opportunity.

We believe this is an appropriate time for all nations, and especially the Christian nations of Europe, to show kindness to Israel. A million exiles, by their terrible sufferings, are piteously appealing to our sympathy, justice and humanity. Let us now restore to them the land of which they were so cruelly despoiled by our Roman ancestors.

The petition was signed by outstanding official personalities that included: Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States, Chauncy M. Depew, U. S. Senator

from New York, Thomas B. Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Robert R. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Sereno E. Payne, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, William McKinley, Representative of Ohio (and later President of the United States), William E. Russel, Governor of Massachusetts, Hugh J. Grant, Mayor of New York, DeWitt C. Cregier, Mayor of Chicago, N. Matthews, Jr., Mayor of Boston, and a number of other Members of Congress, Judges, State and Federal officials.

The entire list of signatories presents a roster of the most imposing American names of the time, a veritable "Who's Who" among the leaders in the United States. In addition to the outstanding clergymen of the country, headed by Cardinal Gibbons, the publishers and editors of the greatest and most important newspapers and magazines in the land appear on the list. Associated with them in endorsing this project are the foremost bankers, industrialists, presidents of railroads, heads of educational institutions and, indeed, representatives of every phase of significant public activity in the United States. The limitation of space would not permit the listing of all of the signers. The roster also records the names of members of leading families, some of whom are to this day identified with the foremost public enterprises in this country: Lyman Abbott, clergyman and editor; Felix Agnus, of the Baltimore American; Fred L. Ames; Philip B. Armour; J. C. Armstrong; James R. Brewer, of the Baltimore Daily News; George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia Ledger; Lemuel Coffin; George W. Curtis, editor of Harper's Weekly; J. W. Doane; William E. Dodge; James E. Emerson, Jr., of the Philadelphia Enquirer; Cyrus W. Field, merchant and industrialist; George B. Forrester; J. Henry Harper; Frank Hatton, of the Wash-

ington Post; H. N. Higginbotham; Marvin Hughitt; Darwin R. James; George Jones, of the New York Times; S. H. Kauffman, of the Washington Post; Albert Keep; Victor Lawson, of the Chicago Daily News; Frank Loomis; A. K. McClure, of the Philadelphia Times; Cyrus H. McCormick, of the McCormick Harvester Company; Mrs. Nettie F. McCormick; Clayton McMichael, of the Philadelphia North American; Henry G. Marquand; Joseph Medill; of the Chicago Tribune; J. J. Mitchell; M. W. Montgomery; J. Pierpont Morgan, banker; Samuel Nickerson; Daniel Richards; John D. Rockefeller, capitalist; William Rockefeller, capitalist; Russell Sage, financier; G. S. Savage; Charles Scribner, publisher; Melville E. Stone, first General Manager of the Associated Press; H. Walter Webb; Alfred I. Woodworth; Thomas Wright, of the Philadelphia Record.

The name of Warder Cresson (1798-1860), for a number of years United States Consul at Jerusalem, would stand with that of Dr. William E. Blackstone, not only as a friend of the Jews but as a pioneer Zionist, whose strain of mysticism and religious zeal, like that of Laurence Oliphant, led him to intense absorption into the yearnings and beliefs of the early Jewish pilgrims to the land of their fathers.

Jewish activity in the New World for the Restoration of Palestine to Israel dates back to the efforts of Major Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), distinguished American citizen, playwright, journalist and diplomat, and Emma Lazarus (1849-1887), gifted writer and poetess, whose famous verses on freedom adorn the Statue of Liberty. They were among the early heralds of the advent of a great movement for the national revival of their people. Said Major Noah, in 1824: "We will return

to Zion as we went forth, bringing back the faith we carried away with us." Even in those days of anticipation leaders of the non-Jewish community manifested warm interest in the proclamation of the idea. Major Noah delivered one of his greatest messages from the pulpit of a church. Miss Lazarus attracted the interest of the foremost American editors and men of letters of her time to the cause of her people.

3. AMERICAN INTERCESSION IN BEHALF OF PALESTINE SETTLERS

The lot of those Russian Jews who, on their way to Palestine, were stranded in Constantinople, was the subject of an appeal, in 1882, to the American Minister in Turkey. Our diplomatic representative was General Lewis (Lew) Wallace, who, as the author of "Ben Hur," "The Prince of India," and other works, had, like many other American writers, drawn his inspiration from the spiritual ideals of the East. Laurence Oliphant, English author and foreign correspondent, and others acquainted General Wallace with this situation.

On July 11, 1882, General Wallace, in a note to Secretary of State Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, reported that as a consequence of the Jewish exodus from Russia, some of the refugees had reached Constantinople and were starving in the streets and that his sympathy was aroused in their behalf. He had received a petition asking that his services be rendered unofficially to secure for the Jews the privilege of colonizing in such districts of Syria as contained localities available for the purpose. General Wallace goes on to state that he had visited the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs who had informed him that the matter had been before the Council of Ministers. It decided that Jews might come and settle in Turkey, that they could do so on any unoccupied lands in Mesopotamia, Syria, around Aleppo, or in the region of the Orontes River, but that they could not establish themselves in Palestine.

Only a few months later General Wallace dealt with a question involving Jews who lived in Palestine, some

of whom claimed the protection of our Government as citizens of the United States.

In 1887, Henry Gilman, American Consul at Jerusalem, was called upon to render service to the Jewish settlers in Palestine. Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, on March 5, 1888, readily showed his sympathy with the Jews living in Palestine who, under severe difficulties created by arbitrary and oppressive political conditions, were striving to maintain their historic association with the land of their ancestors. A similar attitude was manifested by other American officials: Pendleton King, G. L. Rives, identified with our Embassy in Constantinople, Selah Merrill, American Consul at Jerusalem, Luther Shaw, Edwin S. Wallace, A. W. Terrell, W. Q. Gresham, all associated with our diplomatic service. John Hay, the great Secretary of State, endeared to the Jewish people for his championship of their oppressed brethren in Rumania, carried on a memorable correspondence with the authorities in Turkey in behalf of the Jewish settlers in Palestine.

Early in the First World War Turkey joined the Central Powers, declaring war against Russia, Great Britain and France. The immediate result was that the American Ambassador and the American Consuls in Turkey were called upon to protect the interests of the nationals of the countries at war with Turkey who, especially in the case of Palestine, were mostly of the Jewish faith. It would be no exaggeration to say that had it not been for the humanitarian activities of the American Government in Palestine and in other parts of Turkey, many thousands of Jews, both native and foreign, would have languished in prisons or met death by starvation. American cruisers helped to transport foreign Jews, nationals of the Allied Powers, from Palestine to Egypt, thus saving them from

the wrath of the enemy. Medical and food supplies brought into the country by American cruisers greatly reduced the mortality among the Jews, which had risen to an abnormally high rate owing to the lack of these essentials in Palestine while it was under the rule of the Turkish army. The U. S. Collier "Vulcan," which sailed from Philadelphia to Jaffa on March 13, 1915, carried 900 tons of food and necessities for distribution among the war sufferers in Palestine. Louis H. Levine, of Baltimore, was in charge of this relief mission, and he was accompanied by Dr. Samuel Lewin-Epstein who represented the Provisional Zionist Committee.

In 1915 foreign Jews of Allied citizenship were given the alternative of either becoming Ottoman subjects or leaving the country. In the majority of cases the Jews chose the latter. However, they were meanwhile beset by many dangers and privations, life in the war zone having become insufferable.

To forestall certain reported perils, Secretary of State William J. Bryan, on February 8, 1915, cabled to Ambassador Henry Morgenthau:

To attempt to secure from Turkish Government order to civil and military officials throughout Palestine and Syria that they will be held responsible for the lives and property of Jews and Christians in case of looting.*

Ambassador Morgenthau communicated this cablegram to Talsat Pasha, Minister of the Interior, who declared that there was no reason for apprehension and that the Jews and the Christians were properly protected. However, it was Mr. Morgenthau's sad duty, very soon after, to report on atrocities committed against the Armenians. Apprehension of other dangers having appeared, Secretary Bryan, on April 2, cabled to Mr. Morgenthau:

* Foreign Relations, 1915—Suppl., p. 979.

Urge Turkish Government protect both Armenians and Zionists.*

Mr. Morgenthau's intercession this time was successful and he was able to cable on May 2:

We have succeeded in suspending movement against Zionists* and secured permission for their representative Jacobson to leave Turkey instead of being expelled.

After the British forces under General Allenby occupied Palestine, all the relief work in that country was organized largely through the efforts of Hampson Gary, the American agent and Consul General at Cairo, with the aid of the "Special Committee for the Relief of Jews in Palestine," consisting of American and Egyptian Jews. Under date of August 24, 1918, Mr. Gary reported at length to Secretary of State Robert Lansing on all the ameliorative measures and steps taken in connection with the gradual return of peacetime conditions in Palestine. The period of this report covers the arrival in the Holy Land of the World Zionist Commission, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, which soon absorbed all the relief and welfare activities. This report also records the arrival in Palestine of the American Zionist Medical Unit, a party composed of 38 members, of whom 33 were citizens of the United States. The American representatives gave continued aid both to the Weizmann Commission and to the Medical Unit, the latter having been granted official American sanction in accordance with a previous International Convention.

* It is interesting to note the use of the term Zionists.

4. THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT CHAMPIONS THE ZIONIST CAUSE

The First World War, which broke out in August, 1914, awakened hopes of redemption to come when the conflict would be over. With the revival of the hope of restoration among the other nationalities, the Jews, too, shared in the aspirations aroused by the spirit of the time. The Zionist Movement, though its central European organization was broken up and dismembered by the war, rallied somewhat in other lands. It found renewed vigor and reinforcement in the New World. Turkey's entrance into the war on the side of the Central Powers created new political conditions under which the redemption of Palestine became one of the objects of the Allied and Associated Powers. The British Government was the first among these Powers to take active steps toward the realization of the old dream of Jewish resettlement in the Holy Land, heralded by British poets, statesmen and men of letters from the days of George Eliot and Lord Byron, Laurence Oliphant and Lord Henry Palmerston, Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Rosbery, Arthur James Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil.

During those days of trial and tribulation, the Jews in America who were called upon to minister to the needs of hundreds of thousands of their nearest of kin, all war sufferers abroad, found increasing friendship and encouragement among their Christian neighbors. As the Zionist Organization met in convention in Rochester, in the early summer of 1914, the tolling of the Zionist hymn of "Hatikvah" (The Hope), was heard from the steeple of a neighboring church.

President Woodrow Wilson not only sympathized with the purposes of Zionism but actually referred to himself as a Zionist, when discussing the subject with Associate Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and other leaders of American Zionism. While President Wilson was more direct and outspoken, his immediate predecessors in the White House were no less concerned for the rights of the Jewish people. President Theodore Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, the famous John Hay, had repeatedly interceded in behalf of Israel suffering from oppression. President Roosevelt had a sympathetic understanding of the Zionist Movement as may be clearly seen from a letter he sent in 1917 to Jacob de Haas, then Secretary of the Zionist Organization of America. Again, in another letter, dated December 11, 1918, President Roosevelt wrote as follows to Lt. Col. J. M. Patterson, D.S.O., who led the Jewish Legion with the British forces in World War I:

I most heartily congratulate you on leading in what was not only one of the most important, but one of the most dramatic incidents in the whole War. To have the sons of Israel smite Ammon on hip and thigh, and under your leadership, is something worth while.

Theodore Roosevelt's successor, President William Howard Taft, repeatedly demonstrated his friendship for the Jewish people and especially his resentment of the traducers of the Jews whom he condemned in a memorable address delivered in Washington before the National Geographic Society and later published in the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE of July, 1919.

Forged by fire and sword and human sacrifice, history was taking a new course. In President Wilson's administration the Government of the United States was destined to devote great efforts to advancing the Zionist aspira-

tions. President Wilson's official family fully shared his sympathies. William Jennings Bryan, his Secretary of State, voiced America's interest in a Jewish Homeland in Palestine even before the war. Robert Lansing, who later graced that lofty office in the State Department, was a warm friend of the Jewish people and actively aided them in their efforts to obtain rights for minorities at the Peace Conference. He also manifested his sympathetic interest in the Zionist Movement. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels were active supporters of Zionism. These and other members of President Wilson's Cabinet never hesitated to express their warm sympathies for the Jewish National cause and give unstinting aid to it whenever called upon. Col. Edward M. House, the President's friend and mentor, member of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, and Norman Hapgood, another close advisor of the President and later American Minister to Denmark, were devoted friends of the Zionist cause.

With America's entrance into the war leaders in American political circles began discussing the fate and the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities. The problem of Palestine thus came to be classed with that of Poland, Armenia, Czechoslovakia and other lands. The British Government was aware of America's favorable attitude toward a Jewish National home in Palestine. The British, therefore, sought President Wilson's advice on, and approval of, the terminology of that historic document which later became known as the Balfour Declaration. After informal discussions, correspondence and considerable revision of the original draft, President Wilson, acting through Col. House, authorized the cabling to the British Government of the accepted version of the Declaration. It

was subsequently published and received the approval of all the Allied Governments in turn. President Wilson later gave his formal consent to the Balfour Declaration in a letter he addressed to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise on October 29, 1918.*

The following letter to President Morris Rothenberg of the Zionist Organization of America from Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, is of interest in connection with President Wilson's part in framing the Balfour Declaration. The letter is dated October 28, 1932, less than a fortnight before Mr. Roosevelt's election to the Presidency:

As you know, I have on prior occasions expressed my fullest sympathy with the purpose of the Balfour Declaration. Out of the World War came a matter of great spiritual significance—the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people, recognized as such by the public law of the world. In the realization of this aim, the United States played a leading role. I know how close it was to the wish of President Wilson. The formal terms of its expression during the War, the so-called Balfour Declaration, had his personal approval, and he did much to have it written into the peace treaty. The subsequent unanimous endorsement of the Balfour Declaration by both Houses of the United State Congress, gave further proof of the deep interest of the American people in the purpose of the Declaration and in the fulfilment of the moral obligation which it involved.

Jewish achievement in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration vindicates the high hope which lay behind the sponsorship of the Homeland. The Jewish development in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration is not only a tribute to the creative powers of the Jewish people, but by bringing great advancement into the sacred land, has promoted the well-being of all the inhabitants thereof.

I shall personally watch with deep sympathy the progress of Palestine. I extend to your organization my sincerest wishes for continued success and achievement.

It should be noted that President Wilson's declaration of American sympathy with Zionism was delayed not because of any hesitancy on the part of the American

* See Chapter 11.

Government, but owing to the circumstances that the United States and Turkey were not formally at war. The American Government was, therefore, bound to abstain, for the time being, from any official pronouncement on the disposition of the territories of a Power with which it was maintaining diplomatic intercourse. Some non-Jewish friends of Zionism, such as William Hard, not aware of the circumstance, were exhibiting signs of impatience with the failure of the Wilson Administration to endorse the Zionist claim. After the diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey were officially severed on April 20, 1918, our Government showed no hesitancy, at the opportune moment, in showing its approval of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

President Wilson referred again to the American support of the Zionist cause on March 2, 1919, when a delegation of the American Jewish Congress composed of Judge Julian M. Mack, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Marshall and Bernard G. Richards appeared before him at the White House. On that occasion he said:

As to representations touching Palestine, I have before expressed my personal approval of the Declaration of the British Government regarding Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest encouragement of our Government and people are agreed that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

Nor did this great American President relax his efforts on behalf of the Jews after the conclusion of the Peace Conference. When negotiations between France and Great Britain relating to the Syrian boundary threatened the Jewish Homeland with the loss of its northernmost colonies, the President, though seriously ill at the time, felt it his duty to intervene and he cabled to the British Cabinet a tersely worded warning that "the honor of

Christendom was involved in providing the Jewish Homeland with adequate boundaries.”* Premier Lloyd George was reported to have described the message as a “bomb-shell.” This generous and courageous intervention had the effect of averting the danger that then faced the Jewish Homeland.

A remarkable document indicating the American attitude toward Palestine and the Zionist objective is the section on Palestine in a Report and Recommendations officially submitted to President Wilson and to the American Delegation at the Peace Conference in 1919. This Report was prepared by the research group appointed by the President to prepare material and recommendations to the American Delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference. Known as the Section of Territorial, Economic and Political Intelligence of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the group was headed by Dr. Sidney Mezes, President of the College of the City of New York, and included Dr. Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. James Shotwell of Columbia University, and Dr. William Lynn Westermann of the University of Wisconsin.

The following is the outline which this group placed before the President and the entire American Delegation relative to the Palestine question:

1): It is recommended that there be established a separate State of Palestine.

The separation of the Palestinian area from Syria finds justification in the religious experience of mankind. The Jewish and Christian churches were born in Palestine, and Jerusalem was for long years at different periods the capital of each. And while the relation of the Mohammedans to Palestine is not so intimate, from the beginning they have regarded Jerusalem as a holy place. Only by establishing Palestine as a separate state can justice be done to these great facts.

* William Hard, Metropolitan Magazine, March 1918.

As drawn upon the map, the new state would control its own source of power and irrigation, on Mount Hermon in the east to the Jordan; a feature of great importance since the success of the new state would depend upon the possibilities of agricultural development.

2): It is recommended that this state be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations.

Palestine would obviously need wise and firm guidance. Its population is without political experience, is racially composite, and could easily become distracted by fanaticism and bitter religious differences.

The success of Great Britain in dealing with similar situations, her relations to Egypt, and her administrative achievements since General Allenby freed Palestine from the Turk, all indicate her as the logical mandatory.

3): It is recommended that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.

It is right that Palestine should become a Jewish state, if the Jews, being given the full opportunity, make it such. It was the cradle and home of their vital race, which has made large spiritual contributions to mankind, and is the only land in which they can hope to find a home of their own; they being in this last respect unique among significant peoples.

At present, however, the Jews form barely a sixth of the total population of 700,000 in Palestine, and whether they are to form a majority, or even a plurality, of the population in the future state remains uncertain. Palestine, in short, is far from being a Jewish country now. England, as mandatory, can be relied on to give the Jews the privileged position they should have without sacrificing the rights of non-Jews.

4): It is recommended that the holy places and religious rights of all creeds in Palestine be placed under the protection of the League of Nations and its mandatory.

The basis for this recommendation is self-evident.*

* David Hunter Miller, "My Diary at the Peace Conference." New York, 1924.

Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States of America;

At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifth day of December,
one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish
people.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States
of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors
the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it
being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the
civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities
in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in
Palestine shall be adequately protected.*

J. H. Cullen

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Albert A. Cullen

President of the Senate Pro Tempore.

Approved

September 21, 1922.

Wm. H. H. H.

5. THE CONGRESS PALESTINE RESOLUTION OF 1922

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration, its endorsement by President Wilson, its official approval by the French Government announced on February 11, 1918, its official approval by the Italian Government made known on February 23, 1918, and its endorsement by all the other Allied Governments following in rapid succession, were received with universal joy by the masses of Jews in this and in other lands and among non-Jewish sympathizers everywhere. The stage was now set for larger endeavors to bring to realization the age-long yearning of the Jewish people. Outstanding Members of the United States Congress had previously manifested their warm interest in the Movement for Jewish National restoration in Palestine. Governors, Mayors, Judges and other Federal, State and Municipal officials had clearly indicated their approval of the reestablishment of Palestine as a Jewish National Home.

Taking advantage of the universal interest in Zionism throughout the land, the Zionist Organization of America addressed a letter, on June 11, 1918, to all the Members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives requesting their expressions of opinion on the Zionist question.

These statements resulted in the publication of a book called "The American War Congress and Zionism."*

Most of the Senators and Representatives indicated that their support of the Balfour Declaration was actuated by the belief that the Jews were entitled to the same national

* See Introduction.

rights enjoyed by other peoples; that their Jewish Homeland would enable the Jews to contribute an even larger share to world progress and civilization; that this undertaking would finally render justice to a persecuted race; and that it was the fulfillment of a duty that had long been withheld.

The following statement of Representative William E. Cox of Indiana is characteristic:*

For more than thirty centuries unique and alone Judea has stood among the countries of the globe. A nation's greatness is not measured by its gold, its numbers, its mines, mountains, valleys, prairies, armies, bridges, or skyscrapers, but is determined by its ideals, by which it has stood, and the benefits it has conferred on mankind such as Judea has stood for. Rome taught mankind a government of law, Greece gave us the highest, beautiful ideal in life, but it remained for Judea and her people to give mankind the true Christian religion, which is now universally believed in by more than a billion of people inhabiting the earth. These ideals and teachings given to searching mankind makes Judea and her people the greatest on earth.

Through all the years of the past, from the days of Moses, the great lawyer, down to the present time, the Jews have been as constant to this idea as the stars in their courses, although for the centuries past the iron heel of the oppressor like a juggernaut has mercilessly torn the Jews from their land and scattered them to the four corners of the earth. Yet, wherever he has gone forward he has carried his ideals among all nations and tribes of people.

But just as Moses has led the Israelites out of bondage, so the Allies are now redeeming Judea from the hand of the unspeakable Turk, as a fitting finale to this World War. Judea should be established as an independent nation, an independent sovereign, with power to govern itself and go forward and complete its ideals of life. I feel that I am expressing the thoughts of the American people, and certainly of those with whom I have discussed this question, that the Government of the United States should use its proper influences in seeing that this Jewish State be created, wherefrom will emanate the teachings and principles of old Judea. I shall always favor that proposition whenever it should be brought in some practical form for my decision.

* The American War Congress and Zionism, 1919, pp. 100-101.

To see these ideals brought to a realization is cause sufficient for the Zionist Movement among the Jews of the world, as well as among non-Jews who are acquainted with the situation. However, the formation of a Jewish State, probably a Republic in the Holy Land, must of necessity also be of great material assistance not only to the scattered Jews in various countries, but to all the inhabitants of the world. It is, therefore, no surprise to me that the Zionists received full support from all the Governments of the Allies, including our own country. I am sure that in the course of time Zionism will embrace not only the members of the Jewish faith and nation, but also all other peoples who will have had an opportunity to learn of its purposes and principles.

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration was hailed everywhere as the beginning of the deliverance of the Children of Israel from two thousand years of exile. The purposes and intention of the Declaration were unmistakable. They were, in brief, to lay the foundation for the eventual establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. President Wilson's statement of March 1919, made this quite clear.

However, the United States Government was unable to participate actively in the further development of the Jewish National Home. The United States did not join the League of Nations, and because our Government never declared war on Turkey, even though we broke diplomatic relations with her, we could not participate in the Allied Conference at San Remo, which dealt with the disposition of territories conquered from Turkey. At this Conference, which met in April, 1920, Great Britain was awarded the Mandate over Palestine by the nations of the world. The sole basis of that award, as recognized by all the Allied Representatives, was the Balfour Declaration which was incorporated into the San Remo Agreement. Great Britain, as a result, undertook to prepare a draft of the Mandate over Palestine to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ap-

proval. The United States maintained that inasmuch as she was an Ally and a participant in the war, she was entitled to the same privileges in the disposition of enemy territory as all the other Allies and, therefore, wanted to have a voice in the ratification of the Mandate independently of the League of Nations. The ratification by the League of Nations was thus held up because, in great measure, of the American claims.

As time went on a change occurred in the political configuration in Great Britain. Early in 1922 an anti-Zionist campaign was conducted in England which was aimed against the approval of the Mandate by the British Parliament and against its final ratification by the League of Nations. The House of Lords actually rejected the Mandate. Winston Churchill, who was then Colonial Secretary, made critical remarks about the action of the Lords. The Zionists and their friends were disturbed and sought means of ensuring the pledge of the Balfour Declaration and the ratification of the Mandate. The great moral effect of an official recognition of the Declaration by the Congress of the United States, it was felt, would stabilize the Palestine situation and would also help to clarify America's position as to the Mandate. The friendly attitude of the great body of the American people and the encouraging expressions of the Members of Congress and other leaders in America had their natural repercussions in the Legislative Branch of the Government of the United States.

On April 12, 1922, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, with the tacit approval of the Secretary of State, introduced a Joint Resolution which was reported back by the Committee on May 3, 1922, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

The Resolution was then unanimously adopted in the Senate. Simultaneously Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, introduced a Joint Resolution in the House of Representatives on April 18, and another one on April 19, both of which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House. Under the chairmanship of Representative Stephen G. Porter, of Pennsylvania, the Committee held public hearings on April 19, 20 and 21, 1922. The proponents of the Fish Resolution, which differed from the Lodge Resolution, were Louis Lipsky and Abraham Goldberg of New York, Elihu D. Stone of Boston and Dr. Herman Seidel of Baltimore. Rabbi Morris Lazaron of Baltimore, though not in favor of the political implications of the Balfour Declaration, testified in favor of the Resolution.

The opponents of the Resolution, representing the Arabs, were Professor Edward Bliss Reed of New Haven, Mr. Selim Totah of New York and Dr. Faud Shatara of Brooklyn. Rabbi David Philipson of Cincinnati and Rabbi Isaac Landman of Brooklyn opposed the Resolution as anti-Zionists representing a small minority of Jews.

The Members of the Committee showed remarkable interest and understanding of the whole problem. Their interrogations of the various witnesses clarified all the intricate phases of the Jewish question and its solution. While the Jewish community in the United States was

Establishment of a National Home in Palestine

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. CON. RES. 52

**EXPRESSING SATISFACTION AT THE RE-CREATION OF PALESTINE
AS THE NATIONAL HOME OF THE JEWISH RACE**

APRIL 18, 19, 20, AND 21, 1922

**Transcript compiled by Subcommittee of the House Committee
on Foreign Affairs, consisting of—**

Messrs. HAMILTON FISH, Jr., CHAIRMAN

MERRILL MOORES, J. CHARLES LINTHICUM



**WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1922**

**TITLE-PAGE FACSIMILE OF THE HEARINGS OF THE
LODGE-FISH PALESTINE RESOLUTION OF 1922**

greatly incensed and upset by the statements made by the two Rabbis opposing the Resolution, the Members of the Committee, through their questioning, in great measure destroyed and invalidated the opposing testimony.

Through the testimony of the witnesses and the subsequent questioning by the Members of the Committee, all the possible arguments for and against the question were brought out and clarified. Thus after an executive session of the Committee, and with the consent of Representative Fish, the author of the original Resolution, a new Resolution, identical with that of the Senate, was introduced in the House on May 3.

On June 30, 1922, the House unanimously adopted the Resolution. The Senate unanimously adopted a similar Resolution on June 3, 1944. The only difference between the House and the Senate versions of the Resolution was that the House form included a preamble which read:

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein the Jewish people are to be enabled to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: Therefore be it.

On July 13, the Senate received the House Joint Resolution. It refused to accept the added preamble. On September 11, the House agreed to the Senate version of the Resolution and also eliminated the preamble from its own text. Thus the Resolution, known as the Lodge-Fish Resolution, was passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress. On September 14, it was signed by the Speaker of the House, on September 21, by President Harding.*

* *Congressional Record*, April 12, 1922, p. 5376; April 18, 1922, p. 5693; May 3, 1922, pp. 6240, 6289; June 30, 1922, pp. 9794-9820; July 13, 1922, p. 10210; September 11, 1922, p. 12368; September 14, 1922, p. 12587; September 22, 1922, p. 13181.

6. AMERICA'S INTEREST IN ZION

The extent of American sympathy with Zionism at the time may be measured by glancing at the names of those who urged the ratification of the Mandate. Among them, to mention but a few, were such distinguished representative Americans as Hamilton Holt, Executive Director of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Dr. Charles S. MacFarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Dean of American educators and President Emeritus of Harvard University, J. Weston Allen, Attorney General of Massachusetts, Judge Managhan of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, a leading Catholic layman.

Characteristic also is the declaration made on January 2, 1925, by William A. Bowen, Grand Master of the Masons in the State of New York, that the rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Homeland "should appeal to the humanitarian impulses of all mankind, particularly to the Masonic Fraternity which traces its legendary origin to the Holy Land."

Organized American Labor demonstrated its friendship for Zionist aims on many occasions. Several Conventions of the American Federation of Labor passed Resolutions favoring the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home. Samuel Gompers, the founder and first President of the Federation, who held that office for many years, came out in favor of the Balfour Declaration. His successor, William A. Green, is an outspoken and staunch friend of the Zionist Movement.

American friendship for Zionism reached a high level when the sad news of the riots against the Jews in Pales-

tine in 1929 was reported in the United States. The American people, its press and pulpit reacted with an outburst of righteous indignation. That great old friend of the Jewish people, one of America's most honored and distinguished statesman, Senator William E. Borah, took up the cudgels for Israel's cause. On August 29, 1929, at Madison Square Garden, New York, in an impassioned address that will long be remembered, he pleaded the cause of the peaceful upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, demanding in unequivocal terms that Great Britain live up to its solemnly assumed international pledges, under the terms of the Mandate.

Senator Borah said in part:

When the word went forth that a Home for the Jewish people was to be established in Palestine it was a matter of profound interest not only to the Jewish people but to people throughout the world. It seemed in accord with a beautiful and sacred tradition. The story of a marvelous race surged upon our mind, enriching our thought. It seemed in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the highest and loftiest principles of justice that this should be so. Even those who doubted its success were thrilled by the dramatic movement. To see a scattered people taking possession of the land of their forefathers was a moving thing. But tonight in the face of this tragedy, let us have an understanding. Is this to be a National Home or an international shamble?

. . . In the faces of this vast audience I see great anxiety, great worry and sorrow. But I also read in your faces great purpose and great determination. Let that purpose and that determination be your pillar of fire by night and your pillar of cloud by day to lead you into possession of that which belongs to you as a race. . . . The intelligent and well-informed public opinion of mankind will sustain you.

The tremendous effort exerted by Jews in rebuilding Palestine arouses the great admiration that Americans have always had for pioneers. The word "Halutzim" (pioneers) has become a familiar word whenever the Jewish settlers' work in the Holy Land is discussed. The draining

of marshes, the laying out of orchards, the gathering of crops, the planning of cities—all done by the Palestine "Halutzim"—evokes in the hearts of Americans the unforgettable picture of their own pioneering days in the not distant past. Even the hostility of certain Arab elements to Jewish colonization efforts recalls to Americans their own struggle to establish civilization in a sparsely settled land.

The land that once flowed with milk and honey, has always had an appeal to experts in farming. In 1909 the noted agronomist, Aaron Aaronson, came to the United States at the invitation of the Department of Agriculture, in whose behalf he conducted extensive research and prepared several publications, including "Agricultural and Botanical Explorations in Palestine" (Washington, 1910), and "The Discovery of the Wild Wheat and its Possibilities in the United States," which was published by the City Club of Chicago. The latter book described a notable discovery made by Aaronson in the District of Upper Galilee, near Hermon, where he found that crossing specimens of the original wild wheat with the cultivated variety resulted in marked hardness of the latter. Incidentally, Aaronson, who was a native of Palestine and had served as the head of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Athlit, rendered tremendous service to the Allied Forces under Lord Allenby in the re-conquest of the Holy Land. He was killed in an airplane accident in 1919, while still in the service of the Allies.

Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture in President Hoover's Cabinet, expressed his great admiration for the tremendous progress shown by the agricultural achievements of the Palestine colonists. It has been claimed that Vice-President Wallace's interest in Zionism has its roots in his deep interest in the work of the Halutzim with

which he became familiar during his term as Secretary of Agriculture.

Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior, made a trip to Palestine and became an enthusiastic admirer of the achievements of the new type of farmers and horticulturalists. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, is one of many distinguished non-Jewish Zionists who in various public addresses and in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise," has expressed great enthusiasm for the new settlements in Palestine. Dr. Lowdermilk has proposed a detailed land reclamation plan for Palestine. The Department of Agriculture has shown its further interest in the revival of Jewish agriculture in Palestine by devoting to it its bulletin "Foreign Agriculture," Vol. 1, No. 3, for March, 1937.

The Jews of the world have been unstinting in their aid to these agricultural, industrial and other enterprises in Palestine. Colonies in the Holy Land, established through American Jewish efforts, have been named after leading American Zionists. Settlements named after Zionist leaders in other countries were similarly founded. American Jews invested many millions of dollars in Palestine and their brethren in other lands were equally generous and devoted in giving of their labor as well as of their substance to the cause. The contributors to the various Zionist and Palestine funds had the joy of seeing their gifts assume tangible form before their very eyes, bringing forth flourishing settlements with their farms, gardens and vineyards.

7. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVENTION AND THE PALESTINE MANDATE

The adoption of the Congress Resolution served not only to encourage and advance the Jewish cause in Palestine, but also had the effect of crystallizing a situation which involved the interest and the prestige of the American Government. As was previously indicated, the United States though not a constituent of the League of Nations had taken the position that it was entitled to the same rights and privileges as were League Members. We were particularly concerned with the provisions for the open door and equal opportunity in the matter of concessions in mandated territories, especially Palestine, over which the Mandate was accorded by the League to Great Britain. A long series of letters was exchanged between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain.* The latter Government was of the opinion "that the terms of the Mandate can only be properly discussed at the Council of the League of Nations by the signatories of the Covenant."** It would appear, according to this view as given by Lord Curzon, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to John W. Davis, United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James, that in the mandated territories citizens of the United States would have a status inferior to that of the nationals of Members of the League. Since practically every civilized country, large and small, was a constituent of the League of Nations, it seemed clear that this discrimination would apply only to American nationals.

* "Mandate for Palestine" prepared by the U. S. Dept. of State, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, 1927.

** Ibid., p. 35.

Mr. Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in President Wilson's Cabinet, emphatically objected to the British point of view. In a letter to Lord Curzon of November 20, 1920, he claimed equity for the United States as a matter of right, saying:*

Such powers as the Allied and Associated Nations may enjoy or wield in the determination of governmental status of the mandated areas accrued to them as a direct result of the war against the Central Powers. The United States as a participant in that conflict and as a contributor to its successful issue cannot consider any of the Associated powers, the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences, or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the treaties of peace.

In a note to the President and to the Members of the Council of the League of Nations Secretary of State Colby reiterated the American attitude on this question and insisted that all draft mandates be communicated to the United States for its consideration before submission to the Council in order "that the Council might thus have before it an expression of the opinion of the Government of the United States on the form of such Mandates and a clear indication of the basis upon which the approval of this Government, which is essential to the validity of any determination which may be reached, might be anticipated and received."** He declared further that otherwise the United States would not regard itself bound by the terms and provisions of such Mandates.

Mr. Gastao da Cunha, President of the Council of the League, in reply, declared that no conclusion with regard to "A" Mandates would be reached "until the United States has had an opportunity to express its views."

The position of the United States was further clarified

* "Mandate for Palestine" prepared by the U. S. Dept. of State, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, 1927, p. 39.

** Ibid., p. 42.

in a memorandum to the British Foreign Office. Specifically, the United States demanded capitulatory rights, provisions for American consular tribunals, that American citizens be not subjected to any sort of discrimination, and that American missionaries be permitted to carry on their work in Palestine. In a letter of Eyre A. Crowe, British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to United States Ambassador George Harvey, December 24, 1921, in reply to the American memorandum, appears the following statement which, incidentally, throws some light on how the British Government, at that time, viewed the development of the Palestine Mandate.*

His Majesty's Government regret that they cannot see their way to adopt the suggested introduction into the Palestine mandate of the provision of Article 7 of the 'B' mandate for East Africa on the subject of concessions quoted in your memorandum of August 21. The suggestion appears to His Majesty's Government to overlook the peculiar conditions existing in Palestine and especially the great difference in the natures of the tasks assumed in that country and undertaken by them in East Africa. So far as Palestine is concerned, Article 11 of the mandate expressly provides that the administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency, mentioned in Article 4, to develop any of the natural resources of the country in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the administration. The reason for this is that in order that the policy of establishing in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people should be successfully carried out, it is impracticable to guarantee that equal facilities for developing natural resources of the country should be granted to persons or bodies who may be actuated by other motives. The general spirit of the Palestine mandate in the view of His Majesty's Government, seems to render unnecessary the insertion of an especial provision preventing the Mandatory from developing the natural resources of the country for his own benefit.

Eventually, however, the United States succeeded in winning over the British Government to its own point

* "Mandate for Palestine," p. 56.

of view. When Lord Balfour was on a special mission to the United States as head of the British Delegation to the Washington Conference of 1921-22, he exchanged letters with Charles Evans Hughes, then United States Secretary of State, concerning the Mandate for Palestine. Lord Balfour, on behalf of his Government, accepted the proposals of the United States as expressed in the American memorandum, but suggested that they be incorporated in a separate treaty and not in the Mandate itself. Article 8 of the Palestine Mandate which deals with the rights and immunities of foreigners, was modified as a direct result of the intervention of the United States. A new paragraph was added providing that the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, be reestablished immediately after the expiration of the Mandate.

*Lord Curzon was desirous of having the Convention or treaty between the United States and Great Britain regarding Palestine, contain "a specific allusion to the policy of establishing a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine." At his suggestion the Convention incorporated in the preamble the full text of the Mandate for Palestine.**

Article 1 of the Convention itself declares that "subject to the provision of the present convention, the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty pursuant to the mandate recited above."

Other pertinent provisions are Articles 2 and 7:

* The Preamble of the Mandate for Palestine, after reciting the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, in favor of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, declares that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." ("Mandate for Palestine," p. 109.)

Article 2. The United States and its nationals shall have and enjoy all the rights and benefits secured under the terms of the mandate to members of the League of Nations and their nationals, notwithstanding the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations.

Article 7. Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made by the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States.*

This Convention was consummated on December 3, 1924, ratified by the United States Senate on February 20, 1925, signed by President Calvin Coolidge on March 2, 1925, and proclaimed by him, after ratification and exchange in London, on December 5, 1925.

The inclusion in the Treaty of the Mandate text is of the utmost significance. The Mandate thus became an integral part of the Anglo-American Convention. No change in the terms of the Mandate could be made without affecting the provisions of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. No alterations of any kind could be made without the consent of Parties signatories to the document. In subsequent discussions of the White Paper these facts loom up as of cardinal importance.

During the negotiations of the Anglo-American Convention, the American Ambassador, Mr. George Harvey,

* Department of State, *Mandate for Palestine* (Washington, 1927), p. 114; *Convention Between the United Kingdom and the United States of America Respecting the Rights of the Governments of the Two Countries and Their Respective Nationals in Palestine*, Cmd. 2559, 1925, p. 11. It should be noted that on July 6, 1937 when the Palestine Royal Commission Report contemplating partition was published, Ambassador Bingham wrote to Anthony Eden, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: "The United States Government would be glad to receive at the earliest possible moment a detailed elucidation of the official British position, having regard to the terms of the American-British Convention of the 3rd December, 1924, on the question of consulting the United States Government with respect to any changes that may be proposed in Palestine as the result of the Report of the Royal Commission." Correspondence with the United States Government regarding the United States Rights in Palestine, Cmd. 5544, 1937, p. 2.

wrote, on April 5, 1922, to Lord Curzon, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

My Government has observed the statement of Your Lordship in your note of December 22, to which you refer in your note of December 29, that it would be difficult to insert in the mandate itself a provision that the consent of the United States should be obtained before any alteration is made in the text of the mandate. My Government does not believe such an insertion to be necessary, in view of the fact, to which Your Lordship adverts, that there is "nothing to prevent the Mandatory giving a separate undertaking to this effect." Such an undertaking may be embodied in the proposed treaty. It would not, however, be deemed by my Government to be sufficient to provide merely for consultation with the United States.

In reply, Lancelot Oliphant, in the name of Lord Curzon, wrote on April 29, 1922:*

Inasmuch as the terms of the Palestine mandate are to be recited in the treaty, it is necessary that those terms should be definitely settled before the treaty can be negotiated and signed. His Majesty's Government are, therefore, extremely anxious to obtain the approval of the Council of the League of Nations to the terms of the mandate at their meeting on May 11, even if the mandate cannot be actually issued at present, and for this purpose they desire, with the consent of the United States Government, to lay the correspondence between Your Excellency and myself before the Council of the League as showing that agreement between the two Governments has now been reached. I have, therefore, the honour to request the assent of the Government of the United States to this course being adopted, in which case the negotiation for the treaty will be entered into as soon as the terms of the mandate have been approved by the Council of the League.

Your Excellency will observe that the period before the meeting of the Council is short, and I should, therefore, be grateful if the views of Your Excellency's Government on the proposals made in this note could be communicated to me at the earliest possible date.

Article 7 of the Convention made the United States a legally interested party in the Jewish National Home ven-

* Mandate for Palestine, Publication of the Department of State.

ture as it found practical expression in the Mandate. The official policy of the United States relative to Palestine became that of the Mandate, a policy which was never relinquished and is still in force. This is clear and unequivocal. It is so held and understood by students of international relations. It was thus interpreted and repeatedly explained in speeches in Congress by Senators and Representatives. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising and disappointing that on certain occasions the State Department took a very narrow and restricted view of this Convention. This attitude has given encouragement to the Arabs who oppose the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. They have adopted it as their own interpretation of the Convention and the Mandate.* Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, evidently realizing that this view became so narrow as to approach the theoretical width of the Euclidian line, felt impelled to declare:

But the question of Palestine has a larger significance than just the authority which created it, and we have always been interested, and I think Mr. Bloom's communication this morning constitutes additional evidence of the fact that the American Government is not entirely obtuse about Palestine or is not disinterested in the situation that is developing there. We have been interested and we will continue to be interested from the point of view of the larger aspects of world security and of world peace, as well as the rights of humans and humanitarian sympathies and the religious sentiments involved.**

It would appear that Ambassador Harvey, in the name of the American Government, had in mind *any* "alterations . . . in the text of the Mandate." It is also quite evident from the reply that no changes, in any event, were con-

* Testimony by Mr. Faris S. Malouf before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives (Hearings on the Jewish National Home in Palestine), pages 284-303.

** Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, November 26, 1943, p. 38.

templated or could be made without first obtaining the approval of the Council of the League of Nations (according to Article 27 of the Mandate*). There is no record, or even a firm claim, that such consent was ever obtained. On the contrary the White Paper was criticized and disapproved by the Council.**

Similarly, Secretary of State Cordell Hull seemingly intending to sugar-coat his narrow interpretation of the Convention wrote the following letter to Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, dated January 18, 1944.

I refer to your conversation with Mr. Brandt of the Department and to your subsequent letter of January 13, 1944, with which you enclosed a letter dated January 4, 1944, which you have received from Mr. Solomon Blatt, Speaker of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, relative to the Jewish national home in Palestine.

In compliance with your request for information as to the attitude of the American Government toward this matter, I may say that Palestine is a British responsibility. Nevertheless, the Department maintains a close interest in the Palestine problem and follows closely all developments having a bearing upon the tragic plight of the Jewish people in Europe. You are familiar with the sympathetic attitude which the Department harbors toward the Jews in their present terrible circumstances, and it is doing everything possible, through the Inter-governmental Committee and otherwise, to alleviate their plight. Every aspect of this general problem is a matter of immediate interest to this Government. The Department is accordingly keeping in touch with the different phases of this situation, in Palestine as in other parts of the world, and is doing what it can to be helpful.

I am returning herewith the letter from Mr. Blatt which you sent to Mr. Brandt.

* This view was also advanced in a letter dated July 7, 1932 from Mr. Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador, Robert W. Bingham. It says in part: "Indeed, the United States having assented by Article 1 of the Convention to the Mandate as a whole, it follows that the United States Government have accepted the provision in Article 27 of the Mandate which lays down that the Mandate may be altered with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations."

** See *Chapters 9 and 24*.

The Department of State, it may be assumed, has the President's ear on matters of treaty interpretation. It is, therefore, not surprising to read this restricted interpretation of the Convention in a letter, dated October 19, 1938, written by President Roosevelt to Mayor Thomas J. Spellacy of Hartford:

I fully appreciate the concern expressed by you in your telegram of October 13, 1938, regarding the Palestine situation. I have on numerous occasions, as you know, expressed my sympathy with the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine and, despite set-backs caused by the disorders there during the last few years, I have been heartened by the progress which has been made and by the remarkable accomplishments of the Jewish settlers in that country.

I have kept constantly before the British Government through our Ambassador in London the interest which the American people have in Palestine and I have every reason to believe that that Government is fully cognizant of public opinion on the matter in this country. We were assured, in the discussions which took place in London a little more than a year ago, that the British Government would keep us fully informed of any proposals which it might make to the Council of the League of Nations in the modification of the Palestine Mandate. We expect, therefore, to have the opportunity afforded us of communicating to the British Government our views with respect to any changes in the Mandate which may be proposed as a result of the forthcoming report of the Palestine Partition Commission. I understand, however, that under the terms of our convention with Great Britain regarding the Palestine Mandate, we are unable to prevent modifications in the Mandate. The most we can do is to decline to accept as applicable to American interests any modifications affecting such interests unless we have given our assent to them. You may be sure that we shall continue to follow the situation with the closest attention.

Quotations from this letter were used by the Arab enemies of the Jewish Homeland, at the Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives in February 1944.

It was, therefore, very gratifying, indeed to learn later of the announcement that President Roosevelt may now

be taking the clearer, wider and more just view of the question. On March 9, 1944, he authorized Rabbis Silver and Wise to issue a statement in his name as follows:

The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees.

The approval of the American Government, under the terms of the Convention, was absolutely necessary, and the fact that it had not been given would, *ipso facto*, invalidate the White Paper. Furthermore, the President's statement that America's approval had not been given would suggest that in his opinion such approval was required before any action could be taken by Great Britain.

8. NON-JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CHAMPION THE CAUSE

In August 1929, the Arabs, incited by sinister elements, started and continued for some time organized riots against the Jews of Palestine. These pogroms in the Jewish Homeland brought fear and chaos to the Palestine settlements. In October, 1930, as a result of these riots and in order to placate the Arabs, the British Government issued a White Paper, generally known as the Passfield White Paper, named after Lord Passfield who was then Colonial Secretary. The proposals contained in this document threatened to endanger the growth and development of the Jewish National Home.*

The American public gave vent to much indignation in protest against this White Paper, and thus largely contributed to the practical revocation of the document through the letter which Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald wrote, on February 11, 1931, to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, reassuring him of Britain's adherence to the Balfour Declaration and to the Mandate.

In order to lend organized support to the Zionist ideal outstanding American leaders formed several non-Jewish Palestine Committees. One of them was the Pro-Palestine Federation of America which functioned for several years up to 1932. The late Charles Edward Russell was Chairman of the Federation and Dr. A. B. Elias was its Secre-

* Palestine Statement of Policy by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Cmd. 3692, 1930.

tary. It included in its membership a number of Christian divines headed by the late Rev. Dr. S. Parks Cadman. Another non-Jewish group was organized in May, 1932, known as the American Palestine Committee. Senator William King of Utah became its first Chairman, while Vice-President Charles Curtis, Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Claude E. Swanson, ranking Minority Member of that Committee became Honorary Chairmen.

The Committee declared that its function was "in keeping with the Lodge-Fish Joint Resolution of Congress, adopted in 1922, expressing approval of the United States of the Establishment in Palestine of the National Home for the Jewish people." The object of the Committee was stated further as calling for steps "to organize more effectively our endeavors as non-Jews to cooperate with this great idealistic cause," and "to foster the development of an informed public opinion in the United States among non-Jews concerning Zionist activities, purposes and achievements in Palestine." The Committee also declared that it regarded "the speedy realization of Zionism as an imperative necessity."

Among the members of the Committee were Senate Minority Leader, James E. Watson, Secretary of Agriculture, Arthur M. Hyde, Assistant Secretary of State, James Grafton Rogers, Assistant Attorney General, John Lord O'Brien, Solicitor General of the State Department, Grene H. Hackworth, Assistant Commissioner of Education, Carleton Beals, Assistant Commissioner of Reclamation, Knowles A. Ryerson, Governor of Kansas, Harry H. Woodring, Senators Marcus A. Coolidge, Edward P. Costigan, Walter F. George, R. B. Howell, Robert M. LaFollette, Gerald P. Nye, A. N. Vandenberg, David I. Walsh, Thomas J. Walsh, Burton K. Wheeler, Repre-

sentatives Carl R. Chindebloom, F. Edmund Erk, Luther A. Johnson, Paul John Kvale, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, J. Charles Linthicum, Joseph W. Martin, Ruth Bryan Owen, Henry T. Rainey, Henry T. Temple and John Q. Tilson, Miss Bess Goodykoontz, Norman Hapgood, Mrs. Anne Hard, George A. Hastings, Mae A. Schnurr, Mrs. Adele Scott and James Brown Scott.

The British Government issued several White Papers outlining its policy as to the Palestine question. The Colonial and the Foreign Offices seemed to grope in the dark always, however, with the intent of placating the Arabs. The most immediate and serious danger to the development of the National Home was and still is the last White Paper, issued on March 17, 1939. It amounted to a practical withdrawal of the basic pledges and conditions on which the Jews had proceeded to rebuild the land and recreate their life in Palestine. It brought unutterable dismay and consternation to the Jews of England and America and, indeed, to those of all lands. The announcement came after Jewry was overwhelmed and well-nigh crushed by the ruthless brutalities of the Nazis. It confronted the Jews on the eve of the Great War which menaced them with greater homelessness and persecutions. The effect of publication of the White Paper was like a pronouncement of doom which made the Jewish communities stagger in an unbelievable daze before incomprehensible injustice. The protests, heard and reverberated in the United States, Great Britain and other countries, expressed the fury of indignation which raged in the hearts of Jews everywhere.

The United States Congressional reaction to that White Paper was a statement by 28 Senators and declaration of protest by fifteen of the twenty-five Members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The statement of the Senators is as follows:

Apparently reliable reports from London that the Government of Great Britain is contemplating the liquidation of the mandate for Palestine based on the Balfour declaration and the substitution by constitution of a new state dominated by a narrow majority is most disturbing to Americans who approved and applauded the cooperation of the United States of America in the pledge made to the Jewish people through the Balfour declaration.

President Wilson was consulted and his advice sought throughout the negotiations which preceded the adoption and publication of the Balfour declaration. There was considerable correspondence between the President of the United States and the British War Cabinet with respect to the language to be used in the declaration, and President Wilson urged upon Great Britain the need of making Jewish rights in Palestine as broad as possible in order to facilitate the program for Jewish reconstruction. On October 17, 1917, he cabled to the British Government his approval of the Balfour declaration. On September 17, 1922, the instrument was approved by a joint resolution of the two Houses of the American Congress, and December 3, 1924, our Government signed a treaty or convention with Great Britain defining American rights with reference to the British mandate for Palestine.

Article 7 of this treaty reads as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

It is well to make clear and to emphasize at this time that the American Government is not unrelated to the modern history of Palestine. Our concern that the Balfour declaration and the mandate over Palestine be preserved unchanged springs not alone from our desire to protect the rights and interests of the Jewish people in Palestine, but also the rights and interests of the American people as defined in our treaty and understanding with Great Britain.

On many other occasions in the past the American people, through public expression and through their Government, have revealed their sympathy for the reestablishment of the ancient Jewish homeland in Palestine, as well as their great concern for oppressed Jewish minorities, often made the innocent victims of blind hate and persecution. Humanitarian and Christian principles and impulses have often moved us to exert our effort in the defense of the homeless and the oppressed. Certainly that with regard to the Jewish people in Palestine this was both wise

and reasonable is proved by the manner in which Palestine has come to be a haven of refuge for thousands of homeless Jewish families driven from countries that had been their home for many generations.

Palestine, too, presents to the world an example of a new and enlightened social order in the Near East. Our faith in the ability of the Jewish people to reconstruct there a life of dignity and permanence for themselves and for the many thousands more who are but awaiting the opportunity and permission to enter is being fully vindicated.

For the world to turn its back upon all this, and to reverse the whole process, seems to us a tragic waste as well as a tragic abandonment of a brave people in its hour of gravest need. The circumstances prompt the undersigned to give expression to their deep conviction that the program thus formally announced for the rehabilitation of the Jewish people by the common consent of the leading nations of the world should be maintained. It is our belief that the Balfour declaration embodies a moral obligation, not only to the Jewish people but to the United States and to all governments which approved that instrument. We believe that the civilized forces of the world should give every assurance of support to Great Britain in a policy directed toward the preservation of the Balfour declaration and the redemption of the common pledge of establishing in Palestine a home of refuge and hope for the sorely oppressed Jewish people. We, therefore, venture to express our hope that the spirit and the letter of the Balfour declaration be preserved in all its integrity.*

William H. King, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Morris Sheppard,
William H. Smathers, Joseph F. Guffey, M. M. Logan,
Sherman Minton, James J. Davis, J. Hamilton Lewis,
Henry F. Ashurst, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Tom Con-
nally, Burton K. Wheeler, Robert R. Reynolds, Arthur
Capper, David I. Walsh, M. M. Neely, Edward R. Burke,
James E. Murray, W. Warren Barbour, Robert F. Wag-
ner, James M. Mead, H. H. Schwartz, Homer T. Bone,
Clyde L. Herring, Francis T. Maloney, Elmer Thomas,
Josh Lee.

The protest of the Representatives is as follows:

We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, desire to call to the attention of the House and the State Department a declaration of the British Government announced

* *Congressional Record*, March 7, 1939, p. 2915.

last Wednesday, May 17th, which is a clear repudiation of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain with respect to Palestine, dated December 3, 1924. Article 7 of this Treaty provides:

"Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be used in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

The Convention contains as a part thereof the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate. Both the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate recite the solemn pledges of the British Government "to facilitate the establishment of Jewish National Home in Palestine."

In this connection we further call to your attention Joint Resolution of the Senate and the House, passed unanimously on June 30, 1922, known as the Lodge-Fish Resolution which recites: "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

Last Wednesday's declaration of the British Government is a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate of the League of Nations, and of direct concern to us, a violation of Article 7 of the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, in that the contemplated action of the British Government proposes to restrict further immigration of Jews into Palestine and to reduce the Jewish people in Palestine to a permanent minority status. On neither of these matters has our Government been consulted, as required by the Treaty.

We desire to point out to the members of the House and to call to the attention of the State Department that Americans have inversed over \$100,000,000 in Palestine, relying upon the Treaty between Great Britain and our Government, and upon which Treaty they had the right to rely. It is the duty of the American Government to protect these rights by proper protest and to see to it that the Treaty is carried out in good faith.

As members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, we respectfully request the State Department to advise the British Government that the contemplated action, if carried out, will be regarded as a violation of the British-American Convention and will be viewed with disfavor by the American people.*

Sol Bloom, New York
Luther A. Johnson, Texas
John Kee, West Virginia

Hamilton Fish, New York
George Holden Tinkham, Mass.
Edith Nourse Rogers, Mass.

* *Congressional Record*, May 25, 1939, p. 6167.

James P. Richards, S. Carolina	Bruce Barton, New York
James A. Shanley, Connecticut	Robert J. Corbett, Pennsylvania
Edward V. Izac, California	John M. Vorys, Ohio
Robert G. Allen, Pennsylvania	Andrew C. Schiffler,
W. O. Burgin, N. Carolina	West Virginia

On April 30, 1941 the American Palestine Committee was reconstituted. On May 20, its annual meeting was held. Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman of the Committee, issued a statement in which he explained its purposes and aims. He stated:

By treaty and Congressional enactment, our Government has formally recognized and approved the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine under British Mandate. . . . In truth and in fact Palestine has been a world-sanctioned experiment in Democracy. It must be protected and cherished today as an outpost of freedom and social justice. Its continued upbuilding must be a vital part of a just world order when the present conflict is over.

The American Palestine Committee will aim to give expression to the interest, sympathy and moral support of the American people for this human cause.

Senator Charles L. McNary,* Minority Leader in the Senate and Vice-Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, co-chairman of the Committee, declared that "there are few undertakings in the world today that are so completely in accord with the dictates of justice and necessity" as the "restoration of the Jewish national home in Palestine." He emphasized that the Jews "should be assured that in the promotion of this effort they can count on the good will and moral support of their Christian fellow-citizens."

The American Palestine Committee contained then in its membership 68 Senators and more than 200 Representatives.

On March 2, 1942, on the occasion of the 25th Anni-

* Died, Feb. 25, 1944.

versary of the Balfour Declaration, 68 Members of the Senate and 194 Members of the House of Representatives, issued a statement entitled "The Common Purpose of Mankind," which read:

Twenty-five years ago the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration pledging itself to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The Declaration was published to the world with the approval of the other Powers allied with Great Britain in the World War, and with the encouragement and support of the Government of the United States. It was written into the Peace Treaty with the aid and approval of President Wilson who publicly expressed his confidence that the purposes of the Declaration would be fulfilled. A few years later, the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, by unanimous vote, adopted a joint resolution favoring the establishing of the Jewish National Home, and on September 21, 1922, the resolution was fully signed by President Harding. Since then, this policy has been reaffirmed by every succeeding Administration, including the present. It has become the declared and traditional policy of the United States to favor the restoration of the Jewish National Home.

The Balfour Declaration was justly hailed throughout the world as an act of historic reparation and as a charter of freedom for the Jewish people. It was designed to open the gates of Palestine to homeless and harassed multitudes and to pave the way for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The reasons which, twenty-five years ago, led the American people and the Government of the United States to favor the cause of Jewish National restoration in Palestine are still valid today. In fact, the case for a Jewish Homeland is overwhelmingly stronger and the need more urgent now than ever before. In Palestine, the resettlement has advanced from the status of a hopeful experiment to that of a heartening reality, while in Europe the position of the Jews has deteriorated to an appalling degree. Millions of uprooted and homeless Jews will strive to reconstruct their lives anew in their ancestral home when the hour of deliverance will come.

We, therefore, take this occasion, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, to record our continued interest in and support of the purposes and principles which it embodies. We wish to send a message of hope and

cheer to those in Palestine who are confronting the common enemy with courage and fortitude and are contributing unstintingly of their manpower and effort to the democratic cause.

Faced as we are by the fact that the Nazi government, in its Jewish policy, is attempting to exterminate a whole people, we declare that, when the war is over, it shall be the common purpose of civilized mankind to right this cruel wrong insofar as may lie in our power, and, above all, to enable large numbers of the survivors to reconstruct their lives in Palestine where the Jewish people may once more assume a position of dignity and equality among the peoples of the earth.

Our Government may be assured that in continuing the traditional American policy in favor of so just a cause, it can rely upon our individual support and the approbation of the American people.

The list of signatories included Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon, Minority Leader of the Senate, John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, and Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives. Among the signatories were eighteen Members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, including Senator Tom Connolly of Texas, Chairman of the Committee.

This declaration was submitted by Senator Wagner to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull.

Further to reinforce the identification of liberal America with the strivings of Jews for a restored Palestine, the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine was recently organized. The object of this body is given in a Statement issued on July 7, 1944, by Vincent J. Murphy, Mayor of Newark, N. J., and Secretary-Treasurer of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Mayor Murphy writes in part:

It is the responsibility of this Committee to bring to the attention of organized labor the facts about Palestine and the background of the struggle to create there a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. To the few millions who have escaped the ghastly slaughter of the innocents which has marked Hitler's war, Palestine represents not only a refuge but a divine hope. It represents the only spot on earth in which the refugee Jew may build a new future for himself, for his children, and for his people. Only there can he build with relative security for his future and for the future of the generations to follow. Only the zeal and devotion which the Jewish pioneers manifested in Palestine could have built the wondrous things which have been accomplished in so few years in Jewish Palestine.

With the establishment of the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, American labor has created a voice through which to herald these achievements not only to Americans, but to thinking people the world over. That the Committee is doing this with marked success is indicated by the large numbers of trade union leaders who have joined its ranks. Among its sponsors are the presidents of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, William Green and Philip Murray, who serve in the capacity of Honorary Chairmen. Honorary Vice-Chairmen include Irving Abramson, State Chairman, C. I. O. Industrial Council of New Jersey, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations, William Collins, New York State Representative, American Federation of Labor, Edward Flore, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor, George M. Harrison, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, James McDevitt, President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor; Thomas Murray, President, New York State Federation of Labor, Thomas Murtha, President, New York City Central Trades and Labor Council, R. J. Thomas, International President, United Automobile Workers, C. I. O., Mathew Woll, Vice-President, American Federation of Labor. The present writer, too, is one of these who has accepted service on this Committee, and who feels that through such constructive work great headway can be made towards better understanding and wider tolerance among all people.

9. THE DOORS OF THE HOMELAND ARE SHUT TO THE HOMELESS

In our study of the interest which America has taken in the Zionist ideal, we have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the historic background of the Balfour Declaration and the official endorsement which it received from the people and the Government of the United States. We have seen how President Woodrow Wilson participated in every step taken in connection with the issuing of this historic Declaration by the British Government, and how The American Congress in 1922, without a dissenting vote in either House, adopted a Joint Resolution favoring the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. In line with the directive of this Joint Resolution, the American Government, in 1925, approved of the issuing of the Mandate to England and entered into a Convention with the Mandatory Power for Palestine. The Convention incorporated in its Preamble the recital of the Mandate wherein recognition was given to "the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." This gave legal status, in treaty form, to what was expressed in the Joint Resolution. It defined the legal position of the United States as to the Mandated territory.

Without entering into a recital of what transpired in Palestine after England entered into the obligations of the Mandate, it may be pointed out that almost immediately upon assuming the duties granted her by the League of Nations, England drifted into a vacillating position, that of seeming to have a double trust—one to the Jewish peo-

ple and another to the Arabs. The British Government appeared to swim in a sea of uncertainty. Involved in its imperial interests in Moslem countries, it temporized and receded from the obligations it assumed. It pursued a policy which inevitably led to charges, widely and openly expressed, that it used the Arabs against the Jews and the Jews against the Arabs. It sought in this dubious manner to stabilize its own international relations and at the same time to give the appearance of faithfulness to the Mandate. When it was gored on the horns of its own dilemma, it finally seemed to have reached the conclusion—*ex parte*—that it had fulfilled all of its obligations as guardian as far as the Jews were concerned, and was now ready to establish Palestine as another Arab State. This untenable and evasive conclusion appeared to have satisfied the British Government.

All this is reflected in the series of White Papers issued from 1922 to May 17, 1939, the last being a complete repudiation even of the first White Paper of 1922. This is made equally manifest in the periodic reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. While reviewing the changes in the British policy and the gradual whittling down of the original pledges of the Mandatory, the League voiced its criticism in no uncertain terms. Condemnatory utterances on this evasive policy were also made by such prominent British statesmen as Lord Snell, the Earl of Lytton, Lord Wedgewood, the Rt. Hon. Leopold S. Amery, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Lord Strabolgi and Mr. Winston Churchill who, when the issue approached a critical pass, loyally adhered to the Balfour Declaration.

The Seventeenth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, 1930, examined

the causes of the disturbances in Palestine in 1929 and made comments on the Shaw Report.*

(a) It attributed the disturbances in part to the vacillation in British policy:

The capacity of a Government to establish peace and concord among those whom it governs is proportionate to its confidence in itself and its policy; and the likelihood of its being compelled to resort to force in order to impose its will is proportionate to the uncertainty of its intention.

(b) It also criticized the Mandatory Power for failure to carry out the provisions of the Mandate with reference to encouraging the close settlement by the Jews on the land and economic development generally:

The Commission is inclined to ask whether the obligation to encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land does not—as a measure for the preservation of social order and economic equilibrium—imply the adoption of a more active policy which would develop the country's capacity to receive and absorb immigrants in larger numbers with no ill results.

Such a policy seems to have been no more than outlined in the form of encouragement and protection for embryo industries. It is quite clear, however, that the Jewish National Home, so far as it has been established, has in practice been the work of the Jewish Organisation.

The Mandate seemed to offer other prospects to the Jews.

(c) It also warned the Mandatory Power against negotiating with the Arabs about the establishment of a Legislative Council:

To all sections of the population which are rebelling against the Mandate, whether they object to it on principle or wish to retain only those of its provisions which favour their particular cause, the Mandatory Power must obviously return a definite and categorical refusal. As long as the leaders of a community persist in repudiating what is at once the fundamental charter of the country and, as far as the Mandatory Power is concerned, an international obligation which it is not free to set aside, the negotiations would only unduly enhance their prestige and

* Which proposed the Partition of Palestine.

raise dangerous hopes among their partisans and apprehensions amongst their opponents.

At the Thirty-second Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, 1937:

(a) The Commission criticized England's fluctuating policy as encouraging the Arabs to violence:

These fluctuations helped to encourage the Arabs in the belief that by resorting to violence they could succeed in stopping Jewish immigration. Thus the accredited representative (of the British Government) told the Commission that in 1936, the Arab insurgents had been surprised to find the Mandatory Power authorizing the continuation of Jewish immigration despite the disturbances, whereas previously violence had on several occasions brought about its limitation.

(b) It claimed that the outbreaks could have been prevented, for:

A more consistent policy even if it could not stifle at the source the antagonism between the Arabs and Jews, might at least have prevented the outbreaks of violence which it had provoked. . . .

(c) It criticized the conclusions of the Peel Commission:

The present mandate became almost unworkable once it was publicly declared to be so by a British Royal Commission speaking with the twofold authority conferred on it by its impartiality and its unanimity, and by the Government of the Mandatory Power itself. . . .

Finally, in commenting on the White Paper of May, 1939, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in its statement of June, 1939, said:

(a) The policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine mandate.

(b) The Government of the mandatory Power declared, in the statement of policy which accompanied the Report published by the Royal Commission, stated the present Mandate was unwork-

able. In view of this, the Mandates Commission was of the opinion that the Mandate almost became so by that very fact.

(c) In 1937, there was already a conflict between Jewish and Arab aspirations, which the British Government admitted its inability to reconcile. That conflict was the principal obstacle to Palestine's being administered in accordance with the Mandate. Since that time, the conflict has become more and more intense. In 1937, the British Government, feeling itself unable equitably to administer Palestine under the present Mandate, believed that the possibility of so doing was to be found in a territorial partition for which no provision was made therein, while today it considers its policy to be in accordance with the Mandate. Does this not show that that instrument had at that time a different meaning in the eyes of the Mandatory Power from that which it has today?

During this period of England's reneging on mandatory and treaty obligations, American policy with reference to Palestine became uncertain and unclear. It became even more devious after the rise of Hitler and the outbreak of war in 1939. Succeeding Presidents and leading American statesmen, following what seemed to be an approved national course, expressed in no uncertain terms a deep sympathy and interest in the development of the Jewish National Home. These expressions of good will gave the impression of definite Government policy . . . in theory. In practice, however, it was far from being our accepted policy. Through our State Department, as we have seen,* the Government took the position that it had no responsibility of a legal or diplomatic nature in the changing situation of the National Home in Palestine. It uttered no word of protest while the responsibilities of the trust were being discarded by England. It did not intervene in the issuance of the White Paper of 1939, which practically nullified the Mandate and was contrary to the Anglo-American Convention. Nor did it raise any objections after the White Paper went into

* See Chapter 7.

effect. The Palestine policy of the American Government, as reflected in our conduct of foreign affairs through the Department of State, may have been symptomatic of the isolationist tendencies of the period.

The following Statement issued by the State Department on October 13, 1939, is illustrative of this attitude of interest, of sympathy without, however, any official action or protest. It appeared in the New York Times:

Within the past few days this government has received a large number of telegrams and letters from individuals and organizations in the United States concerning the Palestine situation, with particular reference to the reported possibility of the application by the British Government of a new policy with respect to that country. It is obviously impracticable to reply separately to the many communications which have been received and this statement is therefore being issued in lieu of individual answers.

As is well known the American people have for many years taken a close interest in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Beginning with President Wilson each succeeding President has on one or more occasions expressed his own interest in the idea of a National Home and his pleasure at the progress made in its establishment. American sympathy in a Jewish Homeland in Palestine was further manifested by the Joint Resolution of Congress signed by the President on Sept. 21, 1922, recording the favorable attitude of the United States toward such a homeland.

In submitting the resolution the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported that it "expresses our moral interest in and our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. It commits us to no foreign obligation or entanglement.

America Played Large Role

It is in the light of this interest that the American Government and people have watched with the keenest sympathy the development in Palestine of the National Home, a project in which American intellect and capital have played a leading role.

On several occasions this government has brought its views regarding the rights of the United States and its nationals in Palestine to the attention of the British Government. As recently as

1937 a formal exchange of correspondence took place and the following self-explanatory paragraph is quoted from the concluding note dated Aug. 4, 1937, communicated by the American Ambassador in London to the British Foreign Office:

"In expressing satisfaction and appreciation of the assurances furnished that His Majesty's Government intends to keep the United States Government fully informed of any proposals which may be made to the Council of the League of Nations for the modification of the Palestine Mandate, I am instructed to request that these proposals may be communicated to my government in ample time to enable it to determine what, if any observations it may desire to make with a view to the preservation of American rights in Palestine."

Convention Defines Rights

It is expected, therefore, that this government will have an opportunity to submit its views to the British Government with respect to any changes affecting American rights which may be proposed in the Palestine Mandate. These rights, which are defined by the American-British Mandate Convention or Treaty of Dec. 3, 1924, comprise non-discriminatory treatment in matters of commerce, non-impairment of vested American property rights, permission for American nationals to establish and maintain educational, philanthropic and religious institutions in Palestine, safeguards with respect to the judiciary, and, in general, equality of treatment with all other foreign nationals.

The rights of the United States in connection with any changes in the terms of the Palestine Mandate are set forth in Article 7 of the above-mentioned treaty, which reads as follows:

"Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the Mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

This Article is substantially identical with corresponding articles included in eight other existing agreements concluded by this government with respect to the mandated territories of Syria and the Lebanon, former German islands in the North Pacific; French Cameroons, French Togoland, Belgian East Africa, British Cameroons, British East Africa and British Togoland.

No Preventive Powers

None of these articles empower the Government of the United States to prevent the modification of the terms of any of the mandates. Under their provisions, however, this government can de-

cline to recognize the validity of the application to American interests of any modification of the mandates unless such modification has been assented to by the Government of the United States. .

It is the Department's understanding that the Palestine Partition Commission, which was appointed some months ago to make recommendations with respect to partition, will make its report to the British Government at the end of this month, and that no decision will be reached by that government on the subject until after an opportunity has been had to give consideration to that report.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on Oct. 6, 1938, Mr. MacDonald, British Colonial Secretary, is reported to have stated that the House of Commons would not be in the position of having to confirm or reject a decision already taken and put into operation, but would have an opportunity of considering the policy before it was adopted and put into operation by the British Government.

The Department will, of course, continue to follow the situation closely and will take all necessary measures for the protection of American rights and interests in Palestine.

It was obvious to enlightened American opinion that Palestine as a haven of refuge would have to play a dominant part in the rescue of Jews from the Nazi war for their extermination. Even at the height of the massacres, when universal horror was being expressed by all democratic peoples, there seemed to be a studied avoidance by our diplomatic service of the suggestion that the problem of Jewish refugees involved the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

As in other instances illustrating the gap between sentiment and action, official America, with all its sympathy, lagged behind the mounting volume of public interest and emotion aroused by the unprecedentedly tragic conditions. The appalling plight of hundreds of thousands of Jewish victims of the most cruel persecutions in all history, the sinking and explosion of unseaworthy ships just outside the ports of Palestine to which they were denied entrance, the muffled cries from the concentration

camps and chambers of horror—all these agonies, only partly known—did not fail to arouse in the heart of humanitarian America the tensest feelings of indignation and the demand for measures of succor and rescue. Before Members of Congress gave utterance to their sense of protest, State Legislatures, Municipal Councils, Boards of Aldermen throughout the country, by official action voiced their denunciation of the inhumanities perpetrated upon the Jews and called for some practical implementation of America's sympathy. These sentiments were also vigorously expressed by Governors of States, heads of Municipalities and other outstanding officials, as well as by leading citizens in every walk of life all over the United States.

The attitude of the people of the United States toward the hope that Palestine holds for these sufferers, has been echoed on many public occasions. The National Conference on Palestine, a non-Jewish gathering, was held in Washington on March 9, 1944. It furnished a most notable occasion for the demonstration of friendship and zeal for action, the like of which was seldom witnessed even in this humanitarian land. This Conference was sponsored by the American Palestine Committee in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, Christian Council on Palestine, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Free World Association, Union for Democratic Action, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, and United Christian Council for Democracy. The joining of forces between leading church and labor organizations was especially significant. The list of delegates to and spokesmen at this Conference furnishes another roster of outstanding American citizens.

THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 418 and H. Res. 419
RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO THE JEWISH
NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

FEBRUARY 8, 9, 15, and 16, 1944

WITH APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE
JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON : 1944

FACSIMILE OF THE HEARINGS ON THE WRIGHT-COMPTON
PALESTINE RESOLUTION OF 1944

10. THE PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS OF 1944 AND THE HEARINGS BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

A reassertion and clarification of American official policy as to Palestine had long been overdue, especially in view of the fact that in April, 1944, Palestine was to be virtually closed to Jewish immigration, in accordance with the terms of the Chamberlain White Paper. In view of the tragic plight of the homeless Jews of Europe, it became necessary that the muddled situation prevailing as to the Jewish National Home in Palestine should be among the first clouded areas of international policy to be considered and cleared up. It was evident to those familiar with the situation that delay, or even equivocation, might be calamitous.

It was for these reasons that the Palestine Resolutions (of 1944) were introduced in both Houses of the American Congress. The Resolutions were designed as an expression of opinion, tendered to the Executive Branch of our Government, on a very important moral issue. They were intended as a contribution to the formulation of American policy and a reaffirmation of the views adopted unanimously by the American Congress in 1922. The time had come for the voice of America, as expressed by her elected Senators and Representatives, to be heard again on this important question. It is now a matter of history that were it not for an official request for postponement by the Secretary of War on the ground of military consideration, the Resolutions would have been passed by both Houses of Congress probably by a unanimous vote.

The Resolutions were offered with notable unanimity as non-partisan measures and were received with deep interest and sympathy which testified anew to the consistent devotion of America and her people to this historic cause. One Resolution (H. Res. 418) was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 27, 1944, by Representative James A. Wright, (Democrat, of Pennsylvania), and, on the same day, another identical Resolution (H. Res. 419) was presented by Ranulf Compton, (Republican, of Connecticut).*

The bi-partisan nature of the Resolutions was further emphasized when statements endorsing them were issued to the press by the House Majority Leader John W. McCormack, (Democrat, of Massachusetts) and by the House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., (Republican, of Massachusetts).

The Senate Resolution (S. Res. 247) was introduced on February 1, 1944, by Senators Robert F. Wagner (Democrat, of New York) and Robert A. Taft (Republican, of Ohio):**

The text of the Wagner-Taft Resolution follows:

“Resolved, that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.”

This bi-partisan measure was hailed on the floor of the Senate by Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley (Democrat, of Kentucky) and Acting Minority Leader Wallace E. White, Jr. (Republican, of Maine).

In presenting the Resolution, Senator Wagner drew

* See Chapter 12(b).

** See Chapter 12(a).

attention to the Joint Resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Congress of the United States in June, 1922, and which declared that "the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

"This resolution [the Wagner-Taft measure] reaffirms the historic policy of the Government of the United States," Senator Wagner asserted.*

Senator White seconded the Resolution.*

Senator Taft, co-sponsor of the measure, declared that "until a place is found to which the unhappy Jews of Europe can repair and get a new start in life, free of unreasonable economic sanction and blind religious and racial hatred, the fundamental causes for anti-Semitism will continue in Europe."*

Hearings on the Wright-Compton Resolution were held before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives on February 8, 9, 15 and 16, 1944. The published Report of the testimony presented on H. Res. 418 and H. Res. 419, under the heading of "The Jewish National Home in Palestine," constitutes a significant collection of facts, opinions and documents. It is worthy of notice that a distinguished list of Members of the House of Representatives appeared of their own accord during the several sessions of the Hearings and presented Statements revealing a grasp of the historic facts relating to the subject. Other Members, unable to appear in person, sent letters to the Chairman of the Committee requesting to be recorded in favor of the Resolution and urging its favorable report to the House by the Committee. Equally impressive was the testimony offered by eminent leaders of thought in the Christian community, who gave their support to the representations made by the

* See Chapter 12(a).

heads of the several Zionist organizations and by spokesmen for other Jewish bodies.

In the name of the American Jewish Conference, representing virtually every Jewish organization in America, and of the American Zionist Emergency Council, composed of representatives of the various Zionist groups and organizations in the United States, testimony was presented by the joint Chairmen of this body, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver* and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, as well as by Emanuel Neumann,** Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, Mrs. Judith Epstein, President of Hadassah, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Honorary President of the Mizrachi Organization of America, and Mr. David Wertheim, National Secretary of the Poale Zion. Speaking for the Zionist Organization of America and for the American Jewish Conference, were Louis Lipsky, Herman Shulman and Judge Louis E. Levinthal. A statement was presented by Rabbi James G. Heller, former President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, outlining the sympathetic attitude of Reform Judaism toward the Palestine ideal. Statements were also submitted by Rabbi Herbert A. Goldstein, Honorary President of the Union of Jewish Orthodox Congregations of America and by Rabbi Louis M. Levitzky, President of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, explaining the interest of conservative Judaism in the Zionist movement. In behalf of the American Jewish Committee a statement was presented over the signatures of Joseph M. Proskauer, President, Alan M. Stroock, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Jacob Blaustein, Chairman of the

* Rabbi Silver's Statement was inserted into the Congressional Record, February 18, 1944, by Representative Wright, co-author of the Resolution.

** Mr. Neumann's Statement was inserted into the Congressional Record, February 17, 1944, by Representative Compton, co-author of the Resolution.

Executive Committee, and John Slawson, Executive Vice-President. This statement, while not subscribing to the conception of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, fully supported free immigration and ample opportunity for the work of colonization there.

Testimony was also presented by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief, Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, showing Palestine's capacity to receive millions of Jews.

In addition to these leaders and experts, evidence was offered by the representatives of the American Palestine Committee and by the Christian Council on Palestine, with Dr. Henry A. Atkinson and Dr. Richard E. Evans of New York as speakers.

The two leading spokesmen of organized American labor, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, (whose views were presented by Mr. Lewis G. Hines, the Federation's Legislative Representative) and Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, added the weight of their views in support of the Resolution. Mr. Max Zaritsky, General President, United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, of New York, also urged the adoption of the Resolution.

Read into the record were also the Resolutions of many State Legislatures and Municipal Councils throughout the country in support of Jewish strivings in Palestine, together with articles and editorials in leading newspapers and magazines endorsing the aims of this movement.

To be sure, there was also a note of opposition sounded by spokesmen arguing for or appearing in behalf of the Arabs. Prof. Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University spoke for "no one but myself," as did Mr. K. S. Twitcheil, consulting engineer, Saudi Arabia Mining Syndi-

cate, who claimed "I represent nobody but myself." The only other opponent in that group was Mr. Faris S. Malouf, President, Syrian and Lebanese American Federation of the Eastern States, Boston, Mass. The note of opposition was also sounded by the representatives of the small but vociferous Jewish minority of anti-Zionists. It was expressed in the name of the recently organized American Council for Judaism, Inc., by its President, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald and by the Rabbis Louis Wolsey, Morris Lazaron and William H. Feinshreiber. A perusal of the Committee's Report will show that all the questions of doubt or uncertainty that were raised were amply and convincingly answered in the hundreds of pages of evidence thoroughly supported by fact and document.

The presentation of the Wright-Compton Resolution in the House of Representatives and the Wagner-Taft Resolution in the Senate, and especially the Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, furnished occasions for spontaneous outpourings of sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of the Jewish people and the success of the enterprise for their National rebirth in Palestine. A full record of all the addresses delivered, all the resolutions, messages, letters and expression of good wishes from tens of thousand of individuals and thousands of organizations, would fill many large volumes.

The Report of the Hearings of the Committee closes with the following statement:

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEVENTY-EIGHTH
CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION
ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 418 AND
HOUSE RESOLUTION 419
RELATIVE TO THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME
IN PALESTINE

At an executive meeting held on March 17, 1944, by the Committee on Foreign Affairs on House Resolution 418 and House Resolution 419, relative to the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and following the receipt of a letter from the Secretary of War, the committee approved the issuance of the following statement:

"Advice and information given to us by those responsible for the conduct of the war have convinced the committee that action upon the resolutions at this time would be unwise."

(Letter from the Secretary of War:)

War Department,
Washington, D. C., March 17, 1944.

Hon. Sol Bloom,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bloom: Concerning our conversation with respect to House Resolutions 418 and 419, it is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the merits of these resolutions, further action on them at this time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war.

Faithfully yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War.

With full recognition of the circumstances which prompted the Statement just recited, Jews everywhere have not been discouraged as to the fate of the Resolution. They are strongly reassured by the sustained interest of the Members of Congress and by all the other supporters of the Resolution. The many successes which our armed forces have had on all fronts since March 17, 1944, the date of the Committee's Report, are hastening the day of freedom and security for all mankind. The interest which the Palestine Resolution has aroused is happily very much alive. The Jews of America are anxiously waiting for the early fulfillment of its purpose, and they are strengthened in their hope by the recent inclusion in the platform of both political parties of planks advocating the rebuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

PART II

POLITICAL

11. PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The attitude of the American Government in favor of the Zionist cause has been demonstrated by the statements of our Chief Executives. Every President since 1918 has expressed his approval of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. The expressions of interest of Presidents John Adams and Theodore Roosevelt have already been indicated.

President Woodrow Wilson

October 29, 1918: "I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist Movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in other countries.

"I think that all America will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizman Commission has been able to lay the foundations of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that bears of spiritual rebirth."

President Warren G. Harding

June 1, 1921: "It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity."

May 11, 1922: "I am very glad to express my approval and hearty sympathy for the effort of the Palestine Foundation Fund in behalf of the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. I have always viewed with an interest, which I think is quite as much practical as sentimental, the proposal for the rehabilitation of Palestine, and I hope the effort now being carried on in this and other countries in this behalf may meet with the fullest measure of success."

President Calvin Coolidge

June 13, 1924: "I have so many times reiterated my interest in this great movement that anything which I might add would be a repetition of former statements, but I am nevertheless glad to have this opportunity to express again my sympathy with the deep and intense longing which finds such fine expression in the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine."

President Herbert Hoover

September 21, 1928: "I have watched with genuine admiration the steady and unmistakable progress made in the rehabilitation of Palestine which, desolate for centuries, is now renewing its youth and vitality through the enthusiasm, hard work, and self-sacrifice of the Jewish pioneers who toil there in a spirit of peace and social justice. It is very gratifying to note that many American Jews, Zionists as well as non-Zionists, have rendered such splendid service to this cause which merits the sympathy and moral encouragement of everyone."

*President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

July 2, 1938: "It gives me great pleasure to reiterate all the friendly sentiments which I have expressed to the Zionist Organization of America. I have watched the rehabilitation of the Jewish homeland with deep interest through many years and trust that the forthcoming convention of your organization will be fruitful of wise counsels and constructive action towards the realization of a noble ideal."

* See also letter of October 28, 1932, page 32, and letter of October 19, 1938, page 56.

S. RES. 247

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 1 (legislative day, JANUARY 24), 1944

MR. WAGNER (for himself and Mr. TAFT) submitted the following resolution;
which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved*, That the United States shall use its good
- 2 offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the
- 1 doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews
- 2 into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity
- 3 for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately
- 4 reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish
- 5 commonwealth.

12. THE AMERICAN CONGRESS

Speeches, statements, letters and other expressions outlining the opinions of United States Senators and Representatives on the pending Palestine Resolutions, and on the general objectives of the Zionist program.

From 77 Senators* of 48 States

From 318 Representatives** of 48 States

A total of 395 Congressmen from all of the 48 States

(a) THE UNITED STATES SENATE

THE 77 SENATORS REPRESENT THE FOLLOWING STATES:

*(2 Senators each from 29 States and 1 Senator each
from 19 States)*

Alabama	1	Georgia	1
Arizona	1	Idaho	1
Arkansas	1	Illinois	1
California	1	Indiana	2
Colorado	2	Iowa	1
Connecticut	2	Kansas	2
Delaware	2	Kentucky	2
Florida	2	Louisiana	2

*To these may be added the names of the following six Senators who are members of the American Palestine Committee: John H. Bankhead, Ala., Theodore G. Bilbo, Miss., Homer T. Bone, Wash., Walter F. George, Ga., Chan Gurney S. D., and Abe Murdock, Utah.

** To these may be added the names of the following ten Representatives who are members of the American Palestine Committee: Sam Hobbs, Ala.; John M. Costello, Calif.; John S. Gibson, Ga.; Jesse P. Wolcott, Mich.; Fred Bradley, Mich.; C Jasper Bell, Mo.; Thomas B. Miller, Pa.; Nat Patton, Tex.; Albert Thomas, Tex.; and A. Willis Robertson, Va.

Maine	2	Ohio	2
Maryland	2	Oklahoma	1
Massachusetts	2	Oregon	2
Michigan	2	Pennsylvania	2
Minnesota	2	Rhode Island	1
Missouri	2	South Carolina	2
Mississippi	1	South Dakota	1
Montana	2	Tennessee	2
Nebraska	1	Texas	2
Nevada	2	Utah	1
New Hampshire	2	Vermont	1
New Jersey	2	Virginia	2
New Mexico	2	Washington	1
New York	2	West Virginia	2
North Carolina	1	Wisconsin	2
North Dakota	1	Wyoming	1
Total	77*		

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

*U. S. Senator from New York***

JOINT AUTHOR, WITH SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT, OF OHIO,
OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Submits Palestine Resolution. It is the greatest humanitarian movement before the American people. The Resolution reaffirms the historic policy of the American Government, formulated by Congress, 1922, confirming the Balfour Declaration. Although issued by the British Government, it was in fact a joint policy of the British and the American Governments, resulting from negotiations between President Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George. Hoping it would solve the Jewish problem the Allied Nations turned over the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain. During the Munich period she adopted the White Paper Policy, which shocked everyone including Mr. Churchill. The glorious contributions of Palestine Jews to the Allied cause, militarily and otherwise. Since 1933 Palestine absorbed more Jews than the rest of the world. Stands ready to do it again. Every American President since Woodrow Wilson favored a Jewish Homeland as the permanent solution of the problem. The Senate Resolution is to uphold the Government's hand.

* And 6 more Senators listed on the last page.

** A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 1, 1944.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may submit a resolution for appropriate reference, and I should like to make a brief statement in connection with it. The resolution is submitted on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be received, and the Senator from New York may proceed.

The resolution (S. Res. 247) submitted by Mr. Wagner, on behalf of himself and Mr. Taft, is as follows:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Mr. President, I deem it a great privilege to join the Senator from Ohio in sponsoring this resolution, concerning one of the greatest humanitarian movements before the American people today—to right the tragic plight of the Jews of the Old World, to help them rebuild their ancestral homeland, where they may live as free men and useful citizens.

This resolution reaffirms the historic policy of the Government of the United States, formulated by the Congress

in June 1922, when it unanimously passed a joint resolution sponsored by the late Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, then chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The Congress then declared—

That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

The Lodge resolution confirmed the famous Balfour Declaration. Although it was issued in the name of the British Government, the Balfour Declaration was, as a matter of fact, a joint policy of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. Before its official publication, it was the subject of prolonged and cordial negotiation between Mr. Woodrow Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, the respective heads of the two Governments. In the words of Hon. Josephus Daniels, the United States was a moral co-sponsor of the entire plan.

It was hoped then by the Allied Governments and by men of good will everywhere that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine would solve an age-old problem. It was contemplated that the disgraceful era of economic and social persecution of the Jews in Europe would terminate, and that once again this people, from whom we derive our Christianity, our basic literature, and our basic laws, among many other contributions, would once again be allowed to work out their salvation in peace and freedom.

With this in mind, the British Government, after World War No. 1, with the approval of the United States and the Allied and associated nations, assumed the mandate over Palestine.

While Palestine achieved remarkable growth in the

next 20 years, a new day did not dawn for the world at large. Instead, under the prodding of Hitler and Mussolini, and under other influences, a series of unfortunate developments conspired to divert the orderly fulfillment of a great objective. During that Munich period, the then British Government adopted the so-called White Paper, restricting immigration, land purchase, and colonization of Palestine by Jewish settlers. This policy then, as now, shocked the sensibilities of men of good will everywhere. No one was more outspoken in opposition than the great statesman who guides the British Commonwealth today, Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

In the meantime, the present war began, and Hitler's murder squads undertook their deliberate program of exterminating the Jewish population of Europe. At a time when Palestine should have been open to welcome these unfortunate people and utilize their contribution to the utmost, the gates were virtually closed.

Those Jews who were fortunate enough to be in Palestine have made and are making a truly glorious contribution to the Allied cause. While General Montgomery and his valiant Eighth Army were fighting with their backs to the Suez Canal, and Rommel already had invited guests to his contemplated first dinner party in Cairo, the Jews of Palestine were performing heroic deeds as commandos and as other shock troops. In Palestine the entire community of men and women dedicated their lives to the defense of their homeland and to the production of urgently needed materials of war for the Allied forces. President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and other Allied leaders have spoken most generously of their contribution.

Now and in the post-war period this Jewish community stands ready to give refuge to their persecuted brethren

in Europe. From 1933 to 1939 Palestine welcomed more refugees from Hitler terror than were absorbed by all the rest of the world. When the war ends, Palestine has the capacity to absorb the uprooted and the destitute Jews who will survive Hitler's vengeance. The need then will be greater than ever before.

Our Government has done and is doing its utmost to alleviate the conditions of European refugees during the war. Every President of the United States since Woodrow Wilson has looked with favor upon the Jewish homeland as the permanent solution of a vexing problem. The resolution jointly submitted by the Senator from Ohio and myself will help uphold the hand of our Government in support of its traditional policy—a policy that is in furtherance of the ideals of all the United Nations.

The overwhelming sentiment of the American people is expressed in the simple words of this resolution:

That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

*U. S. Senator from Ohio**

JOINT AUTHOR, WITH SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER,
OF NEW YORK, OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Mr. President, I am joining today with the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] in offering a resolution favoring the establishment of Palestine as a place for the permanent settlement of millions of European Jews. The resolution recently reported by the Senate Foreign Rela-

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 1, 1944.

tions Committee provided for the establishment of a commission to investigate and report on one of the most serious problems which faces the world today. Without waiting for the Senate to act, the President has set up such a commission, which shall determine the best method of saving those Jews who have not been massacred, who are in Germany or its satellite countries, and those who are wandering without homes throughout the earth. Until a place is found to which the unhappy Jews of Europe can repair and get a new start in life, free of unreasonable economic sanctions and a blind religious and racial hatred, the fundamental causes for anti-Semitism will continue in Europe.

It seems to me that the only solution of this problem lies in the restoration of free and unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine, at least until that land has absorbed as many people as it can.

Palestine was set aside as a homeland for the Jews during the First World War. The League of Nations approved this solution, and our Government and the British Government also agreed to it. In 1922, under the leadership of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican Congress unanimously gave its approval to Palestine as a Jewish homeland. A Republican President signed the legislation. Unfortunately considerations of military policy led the British Government to change that policy, and forbid, in effect, the further immigration of Jews into Palestine, when the Jewish population is still only one-half the Arab population.

The resolution now presented is merely a reaffirmation of the historic policy of the Congress. It is a step toward the solution of one of the problems which must be solved if peace is to exist throughout the world. I hope that all people of good will can join in approving the resolution.

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

*U. S. Senator from Kentucky**

MAJORITY LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Favors the Palestine Resolution. Increased Palestine population is due to common interest in the Jewish Homeland and, recently, to absorb refugees. Visited Palestine. Saw marvelous achievements there in commerce, farming, reclamation. Natural link binds Jews to Palestine. Hitler's ruthless persecution and slaughter of Jews. Is inspired by Jewish devotion to Palestine. Land is able to absorb three million Jews. American citizens and Government should facilitate Palestine immigration. Ludwig's "The Mediterranean" shows all ancient empires, except Palestine, vanished. Hopes Zionist aspirations will succeed.

Mr. President, I am glad to join with my colleagues in an expression of sympathetic interest in the objective to be attained by the resolution just submitted by the Senator from New York.

In 1919, just 25 years ago, there were only 55,000 Jews in Palestine. Today there are more than 600,000. The Jewish population has increased, and migration of Jews has gone in that direction in the past quarter of a century, in large measure because Jews and non-Jews who have been interested in the establishment of Palestine, not only as a homeland for the Jews, but in more recent years as a refuge for persecuted Jews, have by their contributions, their cooperation, and their organization, made it possible for Palestine not only to absorb 600,000 Jews in a quarter of a century, but to absorb many other hundreds of thousands of Jews.

I visited Palestine about 6 or 7 years ago. I saw the results of the great improvements which have been made. It was necessary at the outset to irrigate waste lands, to

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 1, 1944.

drain swamplands, and to reforest. What has been done there in setting up new communities and new enterprises has been a source of great inspiration. More than 600 factories have been established in Palestine, which are producing war materials that are being sent into Russia and into Turkey, and even into India.

By the reclamation program which has been in process of completion during the last decade, which resembles in some respect the program in our own country under which arid and waste lands are being reclaimed, a condition of economic welfare has been brought about which has truly been a marvel for a country such as Palestine.

The Jew ordinarily is not looked upon as an agriculturalist. Especially in our own country the Jew is mainly engaged in mercantile, manufacturing, and trade activities, but in Palestine even those who have never before lived upon farms or have cultivated land have been able to acclimate themselves and make the readjustment necessary so that they are becoming real farmers in the land of their ancestry.

There is a perfectly natural link that binds the Jew to Palestine, which we can all understand. During the last 10 years, since the rise of Hitler, more than 300,000 Jews have gone into Palestine from the oppressed countries of Europe. He has been responsible for the cold-blooded murder of more than 3,000,000 men, women, and children since the war began in 1939. These men, women, and children were not killed because they were engaging in war. They were not among those who were killed as soldiers. They were murdered merely because they were Jews, and for no other reason, in an effort to consummate the threat of Hitler to exterminate the Jew in Europe. We of the Christian world can more thoroughly appreciate today than we could a week ago the feeling of Jews all

over the world aroused by the ruthless murder of their people. We can more fittingly understand the reactions of Jews everywhere to these murders and slaughters now that we have learned of the ruthless, conscienceless murder of men of our own Nation by one of the Axis Powers.

I have been frequently inspired by the devotion and the enthusiasm with which men and women who have never seen Palestine, and will never see it, have expended their time and their means to provide a home for the persecuted Jews of Europe.

It is my opinion that Palestine can yet absorb many hundreds of thousands. I have been informed from reliable sources that ultimately, by the process of improvement in agriculture and industry and all the other things which go to make life worth while, in all likelihood, Palestine can absorb and support approximately 3,000,000 Jews. If that be true—and I have no reason to doubt it—it seems to me that we, not only as individual American citizens but as a government, ought to encourage every effort to facilitate the migration of an oppressed, harassed people into the land of their ancient ancestors.

Recently I have been reading a book by Emil Ludwig entitled "The Mediterranean." It is a wonderful book, patterned somewhat after the fashion of his book on the Nile. It is not the history of any nation, or of any people, but it is the history of all the civilizations that have risen and have flourished on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The Roman Empire, the Grecian Empire, the Persian Empire, the Byzantine Empire, and all the empires that have flourished there have passed away, and are now known only to memory and on the pages of history. Palestine still remains, and will remain through all the centuries of the future.

Mr. President, I hope the aspirations of those who look

upon it and are seeking to make it a homeland for the Jews will have success beyond their fondest dreams.

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

*U. S. Senator from New Hampshire**

Mr. President, I wish merely to take a moment of the Senate's time, in following the remarks made by the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson], to add my protest against the British white paper, which will completely stop Jewish immigration into Palestine on and after next Sunday unless before then the policy be changed.

President Roosevelt, in a recent statement, said :

The American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper.

Which is an accurate statement.

The President further stated :

When future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish national home.

It would be a major tragedy if, literally on the eve of our winning World War No. 2, fought in the interest of freedom of all peoples and nations, tens of thousands of additional Jews should perish because of Hitler's fury on one hand and the inability of the Jews to find a place to go, on the other. If Palestine were open, there would be a place for them to go.

From London comes word, I hear, that some change may be made in the British position. I hope so, and I hope that it will mean some constructive action will be taken.

Unfortunately, Palestine is the only place on earth where most of these unfortunate people can go. There

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 28, 1944.

they will be given a genuine welcome and safety. There, like others before them, they will become useful, productive citizens.

Palestine, the Jewish national homeland, created by the great statesmen of the British Empire with the full cooperation of American statesmen, is denied to the Jews—the very people it was intended to help—at a time when they need it the most.

The white paper was part of an appeasement era which produced Munich, which, instead of preventing heartaches and bloodshed, produced greater heartaches, more bloodshed, and economic destruction.

Happily, more than 300,000 Jews escaped Hitler and went into Palestine. They became our valued and valiant allies. They have contributed directly to the war effort, both in productive capacity and fighting on the front.

Our Government failed to protest immediately and actively when the British Government took action which was not in accord with the treaty between the two Governments, which says that no change can be made in the mandate for Palestine without our consent.

The situation is now sufficiently clear so that I hope some change of policy may be worked out in the interest of fairness and justice to humanity.

The need today for a free Palestine is great, but the need will be infinitely greater when the task of rehabilitation begins in the post-war era.

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

*U. S. Senator from Missouri**

Wagner-Taft Resolution reaffirmed the action of Congress, 1922, adhering to the Balfour Declaration for the

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 28, 1944.

establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Resolution was held in abeyance because of a letter from the War Secretary, protesting its present adoption, and the opposition of high military authorities on the ground that it would be harmful to the war effort. Subsequent statements of Drs. Silver and Wise as to President Roosevelt's favorable attitude. This superseded the expressions of any other officials. British White Paper is one of the most calamitous in Christendom's history. Under it the Jewish Homeland would become another concentration camp. It was an appeasement policy. Was denounced most vigorously by Britishers, most critically by Winston Churchill, the present Prime Minister, who is silent now. Our Government also has a responsibility. The Balfour Declaration, while issued in the name of the British Government, was also an American declaration of policy. Arabs and Jews were then equally happy about it as is shown by the Emir Feisal letter. England was given the Palestine Mandate by the League of Nations. America's right to interfere. American-British Convention, 1925. Jewish immigration into Palestine. Their marvelous accomplishments there, their contributions and assistance to the present war effort. Terms of the Mandate prohibit modification without our assent. The Mandate breaches were never protested by the State Department. Our silence may be construed as consent, and we are thus party to the crime of not saving many Jewish lives. It is the worst tragedy of the Jews throughout the ages. Will our Government stultify itself? Palestine, under Dr. Lowdermilk's reclamation plan, would accommodate more than a four-million population. Arabs prospered and benefitted by Jewish settlement. The White Paper policy is a problem of the Christian world. American self-respect has been challenged. Because of the urgency of the crisis the Resolution should be passed without delay.

Mr. President, on February 1, 1944, the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft] submitted Senate Resolution 247, resolving that the United States use its good offices in taking appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall

be open for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. The resolution reaffirmed the action of the Congress on June 30, 1933, in which the Sixty-seventh Congress gave adherence to the Balfour Declaration for the reestablishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Senate Resolution 247 was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. As a member of that committee I was an earnest supporter of that resolution, and, so far as I know, there was little or no opposition to its adoption in the committee. However, as a result of a letter from the Secretary of War transmitted by the Secretary of State vigorously protesting against the adoption of the resolution at this time, and as the result of the appearance before the committee of high military authorities ascertaining that the adoption of the resolution might be harmful to the war effort, the resolution has been held in abeyance in the committee, and on that state of fact even the most ardent supporters of the resolution were unable to protest seriously the action of the committee. However, a few days ago, after a conference at the White House between the President and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise issued the following statement:

The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish national home for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees.

Inasmuch as the President is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, as well as the head of our Diplomatic Service, it seems to me that the statement of the President necessarily supersedes and transcends the statements of other American officials, no matter how important they may be. I, therefore, feel justified in calling the matter to the attention of the Senate particularly in view of the extreme urgency of the situation.

Mr. President, on March 31 there will become operative, unless this Government successfully intervenes, one of the most brutal and calamitous policies in the history of Christian civilization. I refer to the British White Paper which for the past nearly 5 years has been the obstruction upon which the hopes of hundreds of thousands of homeless persecuted people have fallen in their efforts to escape the living hell which the bestial Hitler has inflicted upon the Jews of Europe.

Ironical as it may seem, tragic as it is, the Jewish homeland in Palestine, by the operation of this policy, has, insofar as the homeless Jews of Europe are concerned, ceased to be a homeland, and if this policy becomes fully effective, it will not only not be a homeland, but it may well become another place where the Jew will be unable to lay his head in peace. It may well become another concentration camp, with all the horrors of those camps.

The British White Paper stands, in my mind and in the minds of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of American citizens of all faiths, as probably the most tragic of all the unhappy experiences this unhappy people have had since a political mountebank threw the world into an uproar with the Jews as his first victims. The British Government closed the gates of Palestine back in 1939, when

a misguided Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, was seeking to appease the Hitler government. No peoples on earth denounced that policy more vigorously than did the rank and file Britishers, and no official was more critical of that policy than was the man who today is the Prime Minister of the British Empire, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill.

Almost 5 years have passed, however, since Mr. Churchill rose in Commons to denounce this violation of the solemn pledge of the British Government. Since he spoke from the benches of the opposition, Mr. Churchill has become the No. 1 spokesman of his Government, and although he so vigorously opposed the stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine when he was on the outside looking in, he has done nothing, insofar as I know, now that he sits in the seats of the mighty, to rectify that great wrong or to modify that policy.

In the meanwhile, time moves rapidly. Unhappily the British Government is not alone in responsibility for the tragic situation which now pertains to Palestine. Our Government also has a responsibility, and this responsibility will increase as the full effects of this policy become operative.

Let me explain. During the First World War the great President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and the then head of the British Empire, Mr. Lloyd George, conducted negotiations in response to a world-wide demand that steps be taken to alleviate the plight of the suffering Jews of Europe by setting aside their centuries-old home, Palestine, as a national home for the Jews.

As a result of the negotiations between this Government and the British Government, there was promulgated on November 2, 1917, by the British Secretary of State

for Foreign Affairs, the late Arthur James Balfour, that has since become known as the Balfour Declaration. This declaration, although issued in the name of the British Government, was, insofar as I am able to ascertain, a declaration also of policy on the part of the Government of the United States, because President Wilson and our own Department of State were party to its promulgation. Let me read to Senators what the Balfour Declaration says. I quote:

His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

The Balfour Declaration brought hope and happiness to millions of Jews throughout the world. To the homeless and oppressed it was the rainbow in the storm-covered sky of the Jewish world. Equally, it was hailed by Protestant and Catholic men and women of good will throughout the world. They were like you and me, Mr. President, in thinking that at long last the age-old crime of a Christian civilization against the Jewish people was about to be righted.

After the World War, first at the Versailles Peace Conference, and then at subsequent international gatherings, steps were taken by the Allied and Associated Nations to carry into practical effect the principles of the Balfour Declaration. It is well to note here that in all these conversations by the spokesmen of the British Government and the spokesmen of the American Government, and the other Allied Powers, it was intended that Palestine would be a homeland for the Jews in the fullest sense of the word.

It is well to note, too, that the spokesmen for the Arab

world were apparently just as happy that this was coming to pass as were the spokesmen for the Jewish world. At the Versailles Conference there actually was entered into by the spokesmen for the Jews and spokesmen for the Arabs what can well be known as a treaty of peace and amity. There were exchanged letters by the then foremost champion of the Arab cause and a leading spokesman for the Zionist organization of America. In a personal letter the Emir Feisal, the late great recognized spokesman for the Arab people, had this to say:

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in Arabia and Europe.

We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppression at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step toward the attainment of their national ideals together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the peace conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann, we have had, and continue to have, the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for cooperation of the Arabs and Zionists, have been trying to exploit the official difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry, and our aims to the Jewish

peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle, but on matters of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact of neighboring peoples, and as are easily adjusted by mutual good will. Indeed, nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilized people of the world.

Now let me get back to the Versailles Conference. As a result of the Covenant of the League of Nations, a mandatory policy was agreed upon in which certain nations were to be given spheres of influence. England was given the mandate of Palestine, and although the United States Government did not become a participant in the League of Nations, it did reserve for itself the right to approve the mandate over Palestine, having first kept itself fully informed concerning the development of the mandate.

Let me say parenthetically, Mr. President, that a few days ago I read a very long and illuminating article in the Baltimore Sun, under a London date line, in which it was stated that the mere introduction of this resolution had caused a great deal of indignation in England, on the ground that we were interfering in British territory even by introducing such a resolution. Of course, the fact is that the British have no more rights in Palestine than we have, or than anyone else has, except in their fiduciary capacity, which comes about by their having been granted a mandate by the League of Nations. Palestine does not belong to the British. The British have no color of title whatever to Palestine. It is a piece of impudence on their part to assume that Palestine belongs to them.

Following the agreement on a mandatory policy a con-

vention was negotiated by the then Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State, whereby the United States approved the mandate for Palestine. This convention was approved by the Senate of the United States on February 20, 1925. It was ratified by the President of the United States on March 2, and by Great Britain on March 28. The ratifications were exchanged at London on December 3, and the convention was proclaimed by President Calvin Coolidge on December 5, 1925. It thus became the law of the land insofar as the United States Government is concerned.

Prior to ratification of the mandate by the United States and Great Britain, the Congress of the United States unanimously passed what has since become known as the Lodge resolution which resolved:

That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Following the proclamation of the mandate, Jews from all parts of Europe began moving into Palestine. Their coming converted a barren land into a literal Biblical land of "milk and honey." In the span of a quarter of a century since the end of the first World War, the Jewish community in Palestine grew from approximately 50,000 to approximately 600,000 people.

A barren country, desolate and forsaken for centuries, Palestine has been transformed by Jewish idealism and labor into a thriving country, and it stands today as the world's most marvelous example of reclamation. The ex-

ample is even more marvelous because the people who converted this soil had for centuries been forced to live away from the land and in crowded areas of industrial communities. It is fortunate that, prior to the promulgation of the British white paper policy, more than a quarter million Jews poured into Palestine in the early days of Hitler's reign of terror. These refugees from Germany and other Nazi-dominated countries of Europe became, in Palestine, aggressive and intelligent allies of the United Nations. Aside from the fact that were it not for Palestine, approximately half a million additional Jews would have been slaughtered by Hitler, the fact stands out that these people in Palestine were heroic allies of the British Eighth Army at a time when the British Empire was being driven back to its life line at the Suez.

These people were our friends in the hour of the United Nation's greatest need. Jews of Palestine volunteered as combat troops with General Montgomery, and more than 30,000 of them fought with magnificent courage at El Alamein, Tobruk, and in every other battle in north Africa through to Italy, where thousands of men are now fighting with the British. They were magnificent soldiers and no one has been more generous in his praise than General Montgomery himself. In addition, the men, women, and children in Palestine left their orange groves and their other agricultural pursuits to become industrial workers, first for the British Army and then later for the American troops. In Palestine, they manufactured everything from marmalade to munitions. It is noteworthy that Jewish technicians who were driven from Germany by Hitler, reestablished their trades and enterprises in Palestine. They began turning out in that country optical equipment, scientific and precision instruments, and other com-

modities which the British had theretofore imported from Germany. Had it not been for the presence of these people in Palestine, the British Eighth Army would have been deprived of much valuable material badly needed in helping to win the war in north Africa. These industries still are functioning at high speed and the entire economy of Palestine continues to be geared to the winning of the war.

So much for Palestine's contribution to the war which has been and is a magnificent contribution.

Now let us get back to the mandate. I have shown how the United States Government became a party to the mandate for Palestine. Article 7 of the convention between the United States and Great Britain, which convention includes all the provisions of the mandate, declares that no modification shall be made in the terms of the mandate unless such modifications had been assented to by the United States.

Note these words, that no change shall be made in the terms of the mandate unless such modifications shall have been assented to by the United States. This language is part of a treaty by the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain, signed by the late Ambassador Frank B. Kellogg, of the United States, and by the Right Honorable Austen Chamberlain, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the King of England.

Despite this treaty which specified that no change should be made in the mandate, the British Government proceeded to destroy the mandate and to render it practically null and void insofar as its purpose was to make it a national home for the Jews. They, the British Government, made the mandate for Palestine a scrap of paper.

They were apparently entirely indifferent to their solemn agreement.

Not once were the wishes of the American Government consulted, and not once in the nearly 5 years which have elapsed since this flagrant and tragic betrayal of its trust was perpetrated by Great Britain, so far as is known, has the American Government made any protest.

Not once has our Department of State said to the Government of Great Britain, "You cannot do this. You have a treaty with us which says that no change shall be made in the mandate without first receiving our assent."

To all intents and purposes, we of the United States Government, are equally a party to this nullification. By our silence for nearly 5 years we have to all practical purposes given our consent to this tragic violation of the pledged word of 51 nations.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McFARLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Does the Senator mean to say that neither the State Department nor the President has protested the actions of the British Government?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I say they have never been protested so far as anyone knows.

Because Palestine might have saved the lives of tens of thousands of persecuted Jews during the past 5 years had they been permitted to go there, and were not permitted to go there because of the operation of this iniquitous white paper, we of this Nation are in effect a party to this crime, and for this I hang my head in shame.

The horrible effects of this mandate, Mr. President,

will become fully operative on April 1, and in all this period the only word of protest uttered by a responsible official of the American Government was spoken a few days ago in the White House by the President to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, Ohio, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the organization of Jews and gentiles which has been formed to try, at this late date, to rectify this horrible wrong. Following that conference Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, by authority of the President, gave out the statement I have quoted above.

This, Mr. President, I repeat was the first word of protest against the white paper policy by a responsible official of the American Government in these 4 years, 11 months, and 9 days of its operation.

You can imagine, Mr. President, the hope it brought to hundreds of thousands of people here and overseas.

At long last, a responsible official of this Government has spoken out.

I was a guest that evening at the dinner of the American Palestine Committee at which more than 800 people were present, mostly Protestants and Catholics. To them the President's words were stimulating, even as they were to Jews in this country and to Jews overseas.

All of us felt that finally the Government of the United States was disassociating itself from that horrible and ironical policy which prevents homeless, persecuted Jews from migrating even to Palestine.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. To whom did the President protest?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The President authorized the statement. I believe the Senator stepped off the floor when I earlier referred to the statement. In an interview with Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, the President authorized them to give out the statement which I read earlier. I am glad to repeat it:

The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today opened to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish national home for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy, and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Was there no protest from our Government to the British Government?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is the only expression by any responsible Government official which has been made on the subject.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. That statement was made by Dr. Silver; was it?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It was made by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, who were authorized to make the statement, so they said.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Was the statement made to the British Government?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. No; they gave it out to the public.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I understand.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, since the announcement of the statement on behalf of the President by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, nearly 3 weeks have passed, and we have heard nothing further. I appreciate that the wheels of diplomacy turn slowly, but I also ap-

preciate that the clock ticks away. In another 10 days the White Paper policy will become completely effective, and unless repudiated or modified, it will become a permanent prohibition against Jewish migration to Palestine.

If this comes to pass, Mr. President, the tragedy of the Jew of our time will be infinitely worse than the tragedy of the Jew throughout the ages. Where, then, Mr. President, will be our vaunted Christian civilization? Where, then, will be the long-time policy of this Government? Where then will be our national self-respect? Where, then, will be the principles of the Atlantic Charter?

I cannot believe, Mr. President, that this Government will stultify itself. Neither do I believe that a great humanitarian like Mr. Roosevelt will be content merely with an indirect statement to the effect that the "United States Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939."

The time has passed when mere words will halt continuation of this tragedy. Action is needed.

Mr. President, it has been said that Palestine is too small a country to accommodate all of the homeless Jews who might want to go there. Obviously, Mr. President, it is not planned to move all of them overnight; nor, insofar as I have ever heard, is it planned to move all of them at all at any time. What is anticipated is that when the war is over those unfortunate people, who cannot reconstruct their lives in the devastated areas of Europe, where people do not want them will be permitted to go to Palestine and achieve homes for themselves. Also, the thousands of refugees who got away from Hitler, but did not get to Palestine because of the restrictive immigration policy resulting from the White Paper, will be absorbed.

For the past few nights, I have been reading a very

interesting book by a United States Government official, Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, one of the foremost soil conservation authorities of our Government and in the world, entitled "Palestine, Land of Promise." It would be to the advantage of any Member of this body to peruse the book.

Dr. Lowdermilk was first attracted to Palestine because of studies made there and in the course of a soil survey of other countries, directed by the Congress of the United States, which took him from Casablanca to Chungking. In all of his travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, he found Palestine by all odds the most interesting place on earth where the soil is being reclaimed and an ancient land is being returned to the fruitfulness which the Creator intended.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. BONE. Does the book the Senator has mentioned indicate the amount of water available for reclamation work in Palestine?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It not only indicates the amount of water available for reclamation work but it contains concrete suggestions as to certain very interesting projects which the author of the book believes entirely feasible both for power development and for reclamation work. I may say that one of the projects which Dr. Lowdermilk discusses in his book would involve taking the sweet water of the River Jordan and using it for irrigation purposes in the arid or semiarid land around it, and replacing that water in the River Jordan by sea water. The proposal is that the sea water be brought in by means of a tunnel which Dr. Lowdermilk says is entirely practical. It would bring from the Mediterranean sea water which could be used for power purposes.

Dr. Lowdermilk states that the depression of the Sea of Galilee, the River Jordan, and the Dead Sea is the most interesting spot on the habitable globe from the standpoint of prospective power development. His book is one which I am certain every Senator could very profitably spend a few evenings in reading.

Mr. BONE. Of course, Mr. President, it would be a remarkable thing and would be tremendously advantageous for that area, if both functions could be blended in one operation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The project Dr. Lowdermilk suggests is unique, as I have said, because he proposes that the sweet water be taken from the River Jordan and used for irrigation and reclamation purposes, and that it be replaced with sea water from the Mediterranean, which would be used for power purposes. He says that is entirely feasible.

Mr. BONE. Would any pumping operations be necessary?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The topography is such that by the construction of the tunnel, so Dr. Lowdermilk says, it is perfectly possible to divert water from the Mediterranean Sea, which is only a few miles away, and use it to replace the sweet water taken from the River Jordan and used for irrigation purposes. Of course, the surface of the Dead Sea is nearly 1,300 feet below sea level. The Sea of Galilee is more than 600 feet below sea level, as I recall.

Mr. BONE. We have nothing comparable to that in this country, unless it be portions of Death Valley.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Dr. Lowdermilk states there is nothing else in the entire world that is anything like the topography existing in the cleft generally represented

by the Sea of Galilee, the River Jordan, and the Dead Sea.

Mr. BONE. Of course, with a 600-foot head of water there would be no trouble with power development.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, it might be well at this point to say a few words about the country itself. Incidentally, let me say that the mandate of Transjordan, which logically should belong with Palestine in one country, because it is essentially the same country, was wrenched out of the Palestine mandate. While the British have a mandate over Transjordan, it was wrenched out of the Palestine mandate, which is proposed as the Jewish homeland.

Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,400 square miles. It is characterized, despite its small size, by great diversity of climate, soils, altitude, and rainfall, and offers possibilities for many types of agriculture and varied economic development. Its population today is about 1,500,000.

Belgium, Holland, and Sicily are each of approximately the same size as Palestine. The population of Sicily, mountainous and without important industries, is 4,000,000; that of Belgium and Holland, each, over 8,000,000. It is clear that area alone does not determine the absorptive capacity of a country; its material resources and the energy, skill, and character of its inhabitants must also be taken into account.

Archeological and historical evidence indicates that in Greco-Roman times Palestine supported a population of 3,000,000 to 4,000,000, or more than twice the present total. It is reasonable to suppose that with the aid of modern technology that figure will not only be reached once more, but considerably exceeded.

After 8 months in which Dr. Lowdermilk was af-

forded every possible opportunity by all groups in Palestine to make a thorough and exhaustive study of the potentialities of the area, he says this in his book about the absorptive capacity of Palestine:

I shall not attempt to estimate the final absorptive capacity of Palestine. That would be impossible, for the absorptive capacity of any country is a dynamic and expanding conception. It changes with the ability of the population to make the maximum use of its land, and to put its economy on a scientific and productive basis. It is clear, however, that there is ample proof of the assertion that full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least 4,000,000 Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Trans-Jordania.

It has been also said that the Jews are driving the Arabs from the country. This is in no way in accordance with the facts. Actually, the contrary is true and actually the Arabs of Palestine are by far the most prosperous Arab peoples in the Middle East, in contrast with the fact that at the time of the establishment of the Jewish homeland they were by far the poorest and most backward Arabs in the whole of the Middle East. The Arab population has substantially increased since the Balfour Declaration. Certainly the Colonial Office of the British Government is not prejudiced in favor of the Jews. When Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Chamberlain government, refutes the allegation that the Jews have imposed hardships on the Arabs, the allegation certainly is without foundation in fact. This is what Mr. MacDonald said in the House of Commons on November 24, 1938. Remember, he is said to be the author of the White Paper.

The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today

would still have been around about the 600,000 figure—instead of over 1,000,000 as at present—at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that the Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong.

One further word, Mr. President, and I shall be through. The question of the termination of the horrible White Paper policy is not a problem of the Jew. It is a problem of the Christians of the world, and by force of circumstances it is chiefly a problem of the Christians who constitute the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain. As a humble member of the legislative branch of the Government of the United States I feel deeply on this subject. The self-respect of all of us has been challenged and the self-respect of our Government is equally at stake. I hope that other Members of the Congress and of the executive branch of the Government will feel as I do, so that every possible constructive step to alleviate the sufferings of the Jews of Europe will be taken at the earliest possible moment, and that the gates of Palestine will be reopened speedily and permanently in order that those people may find a welcome at the only place on God's green earth where at the moment the governments of the world apparently are willing for them to get a new start in life and live as decent, self-respecting, constructive, helpful citizens as they have always lived in those communities where the Jew is permitted to become a part of his community.

It seems to me that in view of the tragic urgency of the crisis and in view of the President's humanitarian expressions on the subject, the Wagner-Taft resolution should be passed without delay.

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS
*U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania**

Mr. President, on June 30, 1922, the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States enacted a joint resolution which placed this Nation on record as favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

At the time when that resolution was enacted, I was serving as Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States; and I, together with a vast number of American leaders in all walks of life, heartily endorsed that resolution as well as the substance of the Balfour resolution which was subsequently issued by the British Government.

The tragic events of the last decade have proved conclusively, Mr. President, that the Jewish people—persecuted of person, tortured of mind and thwarted of purpose in many nations of the world—stand in stark and serious need of a single national home.

There in Palestine these downtrodden, oppressed people can find that home. There they can reassemble the remnants of their scattered nation, and can rebuild them once again into a united, democratic state, under which they can master their own problems and create their own destiny as a proud and independent people.

Mr. President, I regard this problem as one of the most pressing issues of our time—a problem which must be solved if we are ever to attain the just and lasting peace for which our sons and brothers have pledged their honor and their very lives.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I rise to request the Committee on Foreign Relations to give immediate

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, February 8, 1944.

consideration to Senate Resolution 247, which is designed to insure the ultimate reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

*U. S. Senator from Colorado**

The day the White Paper goes into effect is a black day in the history of the English-speaking peoples. Five years of immigration under the White Paper. Hitler's victims practically halted by it, as the doors of Palestine, the only country able and willing to absorb the Jews, were closed. America must share the blame of responsibility by its failure to protest officially. Curtailment of Jewish immigration is a violation of the Mandate and contrary to the Balfour Declaration. President Roosevelt's guarded statement to Drs. Wise and Silver did not constitute a formal protest against the White Paper. British Government continues its iniquitous policy. Mr. Churchill, who once described the policy as "betrayal," may have become callous to Jewish suffering. Senate Palestine Resolution of 1922. The time has come for the Senate to speak again. Overwhelming majority of American citizens want justice accorded the Jew. It is a Christian problem. Palestine is the sole Jewish haven. Open Palestine gates so that it shall become a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Anything less will be a betrayal.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Missouri for his very detailed and comprehensive statement of a situation which is rapidly becoming almost intolerable. Next Saturday may become one of the black days in the history of the English-speaking people. Next Saturday will become one of the black days of the history of England, Mr. President, unless in the remaining few days of this week the British Government rescinds its iniquitous White Paper which halts Jewish immigration into Palestine.

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 28, 1944.

After next Saturday a total of not more than 23,000 Jews will be permitted to go to Palestine, which will include only the men, women, and children who have heretofore obtained visas but have been unable to complete their pilgrimage to their "promised land" because of transportation difficulties. The British Colonial Office charged with the administration of Palestine has graciously consented to extend the validity of their admission certificates until they can be utilized. But after that the gates of Palestine will be closed.

For the past 5 years, Mr. President, or since the White Paper policy has been operative, the British Government has permitted only 10,000 Jewish refugees a year to enter a land which was set aside after the last war, under the initiative of the United States and other Allied Nations, as the haven where these oppressed and harassed people would have the opportunity to rebuild their lives, as was stated to the Senate by the Senator from Missouri.

In the meanwhile, Hitler the maniac, and his henchmen, have been exterminating Jews in Germany, in Poland, and in the occupied countries at an estimated rate of more than 10,000 per day. In other words, Hitler has killed more Jews a day—every day—than Britain has permitted to find refuge in Palestine in a year. Hitler has exterminated more Jews in 5 days in Central Europe than the British Government has permitted to enter Palestine in 5 years.

Hitler and Himmler the hangman have now moved into Hungary and Rumania, and once more Jewish slaughter stands first on the agenda of hate in those unhappy lands.

Heretofore tens of thousands of Jews en route to Palestine, halted because of the White Paper, have found some sort of asylum in the Balkans. Now Hitler has caught

up with them and his Gestapo may be depended upon to do its work thoroughly. The reverses he is suffering in Russia will be expiated by the blood of these helpless people.

Our Government has not been unaware of their plight. Our Government has known that it was necessary to get them out of the Balkans. Brave words have been spoken about saving them; but apparently there was no real effort made to get them to Palestine, the only place where they were really wanted. Palestine could have absorbed an additional two or three million of them and made them helpful allies of our cause—just as it has absorbed the half-million Jews who did get there before 1939—but Palestine has been closed by the White Paper. The White Paper and its responsible authors have therefore been in effect an ally of Hitler in his diabolical conspiracy for the extermination of the Jewish people of Europe. This is an inescapable conclusion.

While the responsibility for this tragedy is primarily the responsibility of the British Government, we in the United States must also bear our share of blame. As stated by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Clark], to the extent that we failed to voice a protest, the responsibility is also ours. Long ago we negotiated a treaty with Great Britain wherein we consented to British administration of the mandate for Palestine. That convention specifically states in article 7 that no modification shall be made in the terms of the mandate unless such modification has been assented to by the United States.

Curtailment of Jewish immigration during the past 5 years, and the proposed complete stoppage, is in violation of this mandate. Furthermore, any restriction whatsoever of Jewish immigration into Palestine is entirely contrary to the intent, purpose, and spirit of the Balfour

Declaration which was the forerunner of the mandate. Has the United States Government ever protested this violation? Has the United States Government ever lifted its voice in behalf of the helpless victims of this unlawful violation of a sacred covenant? The answer is "No."

Just 2 weeks ago—mark you, just 2 weeks ago—President Roosevelt asserted that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper. Of course, it has not, but neither has it voiced its disapproval. So in the absence of a protest by the United States, the British Government has continued this iniquitous and unlawful policy for 5 years. In those 5 years no one knows how many lives might have been saved. Certainly many tens of thousands would have found safety.

While the President's guarded statement that this Government "has never approved the White Paper" does not constitute a formal protest by one government to another concerning the flagrant violation of a treaty, yet it is the only word which has been spoken by a responsible United States official on the subject.

I had hoped that Mr. Churchill in his speech last Sunday would announce a retreat from the White Paper, for no one in Britain has been more critical of it than Mr. Churchill. He once described it as a "betrayal." But perhaps he too has become callous to Jewish suffering and travail. Perhaps he, too, is indifferent to the fate of those who still can be saved.

Well, I am not indifferent, Mr. President, and I know the Senate is not indifferent. The Senate ratified the treaty concerning the mandate for Palestine, and it approved by unanimous vote the Lodge resolution of 1922 approving the establishment of the Jewish national homeland. The time has come for the Senate to speak up. The overwhelming majority of American citizens are appalled

at the premeditated extermination of the Jewish people. They want justice accorded the Jew. They know that a just settlement of this problem is a Christian problem. They know that in the inhospitable world of today the only place where the Jew of Europe can go is Palestine. I wish it were otherwise, but unfortunately it is not.

Under the circumstances, therefore, we should face realities in the Senate and do all in our power to keep the gates of Palestine open to the end that it shall become a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. It should become a Jewish national homeland, just as was contemplated when the Balfour Declaration was promulgated more than a quarter of a century ago with the full knowledge, consent, and cooperation of the United States Government. Anything less will be what the eloquent Churchill has termed a "betrayal."

HON. WALLACE H. WHITE, Jr.

*U. S. Senator from Maine**

ACTING MINORITY LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Mr. President, I take great satisfaction in the resolution just submitted to the Senate by the Senator from New York on behalf of himself and the senior Senator from Ohio.

If I correctly understand its purpose and its terms, it is a reaffirmation of an attitude of the Congress expressed more than 20 years ago with respect to the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

The cruelties inflicted upon the Jewish people in late years, and their present desperate plight, appeal to the heart of the Christian world for remedial measures and for fulfillment of the plan for a home for them. This

*A speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, March 28, 1944.

resolution encourages hope that there will soon come realization of those aspirations.

I hope the resolution will have early and favorable consideration by the appropriate committee and by the Senate itself.

HON. CHARLES O. ANDREWS

U. S. Senator from Florida

It is my belief that it is for the best interests of the Allies, and particularly the United States, and more particularly the Jewish people themselves, that this subject be postponed until the war is won.

The evidence is quite clear if the Senators and Representatives of the United States join in a Resolution demanding or requesting that Palestine be open for unlimited Jewish immigration at this time, we would incur the antagonies and enmity of at least 100,000,000 Arabians and Moslems in the Near East. Some time ago I was advised that the Axis radio broadcast nightly the effort being made in Congress to reassert the Balfour Declaration throughout the Moslem and Arabic world, advising them that America is trying to drive them out of the Near East in order to give the Jewish people their lands.

My understanding also is that Palestine is under mandate of Great Britain, and it would seem that for us to take part in any Palestine movement might embarrass your best friends and our main Ally, Great Britain.

The above appears to be the views of many of our thoughtful friends who are looking to the best interests of not only our own people fighting on all continents and the seven seas, but the best interests of the Jewish people themselves.

This is an honest expression, and I am sure you will

understand and receive it in the spirit in which it is written. We must avoid, as far as possible, any further dangerous complications while our boys are scattered over the battlefields of the Near East and around the world fighting for the freedom of all people.

HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

U. S. Senator from Vermont

American public sentiment should be frankly expressed in support of the mandate and in approval of its strict administration according to the British policy laid down during the negotiations of its terms. It would strengthen the arm of the mandatory and discourage the employment of violence and civil disobedience to induce either the abrogation of the mandate or a modification of its essential obligations.

In the fulfillment of the principles of the Mandate and the declared policy of the Mandate and the declared policy of the Mandatory Power, a stable supporting public sentiment among the American people, frankly announced, may be of great value. It may help to lighten the load assumed by the Mandatory, in accordance with the spirit of Lord Balfour's letter to Secretary of State Hughes, in the performance of the great task of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

HON. JOSEPH H. BALL

U. S. Senator from Minnesota

I am in favor of the resolution urging the British Government to revoke its White Paper which would prohibit further immigration into Palestine. I believe Palestine

should be a Jewish homeland. However, I do have grave doubts of the last phrase in the pending Senate resolution committing the United States to the establishment of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I shall support the resolution, if it is amended to clarify this last phrase.

HON. OWEN BREWSTER

U. S. Senator from Maine

From the standpoint of those who feel strongly that the United States has reached the point of saturation in population and that any further immigration must be very severely restricted there should be the heartiest support for the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as a haven for persecuted peoples from other countries.

The complete unanimity of support for the Coolidge Convention of 1924, between the United States and Great Britain covering the guarantees made by Great Britain to the United States concerning a Jewish National Home in Palestine indicates general recognition of the soundness of the Zionist program.

Meanwhile the constant expansion of American interests in the Middle East makes Palestine a most valuable periscope to observe the goings-on in that section of the world and to enable America in some measure to understand and avoid the troubles that seem to originate in that region.

Two powerful and impelling motives thus combine to encourage American support for a Jewish National Home in Palestine—first as a haven for persecuted Jews from other parts of the world and second as a valuable asset in the development of American foreign policy.

HON. C. DOUGLASS BUCK

U. S. Senator from Delaware

I am wholeheartedly in favor of obtaining the abolition of the British White Paper of 1939, which undertakes to close Palestine to Jewish immigration, for it is in direct conflict with the Balfour Declaration.

Palestine is capable of absorbing several million persons, so I am told. The desperate need for this haven is well known. It must again be made available to the oppressed Jewish people of Europe.

HON. HAROLD H. BURTON

U. S. Senator from Ohio

I believe the Congress favors the Taft-Wagner Resolution now pending on the subject and stands by the position previously taken in support of the Balfour agreement. America's cause and ideals are as broad as her original Declaration of Independence, and while our first and dominating duty is to win the war we are in, and be faithful to the men who are fighting it, we should not abandon any of our fundamental beliefs in the right of men everywhere to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

HON. HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD

U. S. Senator from South Dakota

Simple justice dictates that a national home for Jewish people in Palestine be established. I am not at all in favor of the bars raised by Great Britain to the entry of Jewish people into that country.

Palestine is part of modern Arabia and is under British mandate. Many Jewish people want to make their homes there, but Britain has denied them admittance. Are we going to support England, or Arabia, or the people?

HON. HUGH BUTLER

U. S. Senator from Nebraska

Resolutions 418 and 419 are not yet before the Senate, but I am deeply interested in doing everything possible to protect any race from persecution by the Nazi government. This inhuman activity must not be countenanced in this modern world, and I, for one, am in favor of doing everything possible to prevent the continuation of such atrocities.

I assure you of my deep and active interest in this matter.

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

U. S. Senator from Virginia

I wish to express my interest in the movement to establish Palestine as a permanent homeland for the Jews.

In these years of unprecedented tragedy, the untold hardship and suffering of European Jewry, it is fitting, I think, that Jewish immigration be allowed to continue into Palestine, where the Jews may live as free men, with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I am heartily in favor of this movement and shall support all proper measures toward the development of Palestine as a Jewish National Homeland.

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

U. S. Senator from Kansas

I have long had a sympathetic interest in the Palestine program. In the Senate the Resolution has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I am a member. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs is now holding public hearings on similar legislation. I shall support these measures which would authorize the United States to use its good offices in this connection.

HON. ALBERT B. CHANDLER

U. S. Senator from Kentucky

It is my hope that the plans can go forward promptly for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

You have my good wishes in your undertaking.

HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ

U. S. Senator from New Mexico

I believe that the record of my entire public life is such that you can be assured that I am as broadminded as anyone in Congress.

I fully agree with the Democratic Platform as written at Chicago. I am ready to do my full duty in this respect, if any legislative action is necessary. In matters affecting international relations, it has always been my custom that until those things come before the Congress to let the State Department handle them.

When the proper time arrives you can rest assured that I will be on your side.

HON. D. WORTH CLARK

U. S. Senator from Idaho

In 1919 three hundred members of both Houses of Congress spoke up for the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Sixty of them were members of the United States Senate. In 1939 twenty-eight members of the Senate joined in the spontaneous protest against the violation of the British-American Palestine Convention perpetrated by the Chamberlain White Paper.

These are but a few of the examples of the continued and vivid concern the U. S. Senate has taken in the

upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in the Holy Land. In this hour of utmost tragedy of the Jewish people, we do not propose to diminish our interest in this noble undertaking, but rather pledge ourselves to give renewed support to the restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine so that the Jewish people may dwell again peacefully and creatively among the family of nations.

HON. TOM CONNALLY

U. S. Senator from Texas

CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE

I favor the unrestricted immigration of Jews to Palestine. The horrors and butchery which have been inflicted upon the Jews in the warring countries of the Continent of Europe shocked mankind, and it is just and fair that Jewish refugees should have a haven in Palestine.

HON. GUY CORDON

U. S. Senator from Oregon

The British Empire, when it met its severest crisis at the hands of the Nazis, called upon one of its greatest citizens, Winston Churchill, to provide a defense at a time when defense seemed almost hopeless. Churchill was equal to that occasion. He saved the Empire.

The people of the British Empire who have relied upon Churchill in their hour of need may well follow him in his position in firm support of the Balfour Declaration in favor of a home for the Jews of the world. The obligation of the British Empire to maintain the promise of the Balfour Declaration can not be set forth more eloquently than by the present Prime Minister when he said :

"I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hands 20 years ago is beyond our strength. . . . Long before those five years are past either there will be a Britain which knows how to keep its word . . . or, believe me, we shall find ourselves relieved of many overseas responsibilities, other than those comprised within the Palestine mandate."

I am constrained to the belief that the Empire will go along with its Prime Minister, and keep the faith.

HON. JOHN A. DANAHER
U. S. Senator from Connecticut

You may rest assured of my continued interest and willingness to do whatever I properly can, for my sympathies are fully aroused.

HON. SHERIDAN DOWNEY
U. S. Senator from California

Certainly every principle of human decency would indicate the right of the Zionist to a home—to a land of his own in which he may keep safely and well the finest traditions and culture of the Jewish race, and a land which may, unrestrained, respond to the ingenuity and the far-sightedness of the Jewish mind.

It is my hope that such a plan may be conceived, and that the age old dream of this race may find reality. To this end I have stated myself as in favor of Senate Resolution 247, which would provide that the doors of Palestine be opened for the free entry of Jews into that country.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
U. S. Senator from Mississippi

I have not studied Resolutions HR 418 and 419. However, I certainly favor the principles of these Resolutions, and it is my intention to support them.

HON. ALLEN J. ELLENDER

U. S. Senator from Louisiana

I feel that at the proper time I will support the resolution. The proper time will be such a time as its adoption will not interfere with our war effort. I was one of quite a few Senators who took such a stand and my views were concurred in by the War Department when the question of bringing the resolution before the Senate was taken up by the Foreign Relations Committee. I have always felt that the Jews of the world should have a country of their own, and I feel quite confident that the time to settle this whole situation is when this conflict ends and we work out the problems of permanent peace.

HON. HOMER FERGUSON

U. S. Senator from Michigan

When our men are fighting on so many world fronts for justice and freedom and the right of self-determination, I feel it is well for me to reiterate my stand in behalf of the Balfour Declaration for a Jewish National Home, and disagreeing with the White Paper which would curtail Jewish immigration to Palestine. I hope a new declaration of policy may be forthcoming at an early date.

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

U. S. Senator from Iowa

It may readily be said that the Congress of the United States is not concerned with the plans and policies of the British Government relative to Palestine. But there is no basis for such a statement or conclusion. Great Britain holds and exercises mandatory authority over the Palestinian District by virtue of specific action taken by the League of Nations Council, supplemented by a bilateral

agreement with the United States. Under both the Mandate and the supplemental agreement no change in policies then set up with reference to Palestine could be taken without consultation with the Council and with the United States Government. We should not recognize the validity of action taken without this required consultation.

HON. CARTER GLASS
*U. S. Senator from Virginia**

Touching your letters of recent date with reference to the Jewish National Home in Palestine, I regret to advise you that Senator Glass is not well enough at the present time to issue any statements and although I have spent nearly a lifetime trying to learn how to write, he has never been one to allow anybody to do ghost writing for him. I do know this, however, that he has always been sympathetic towards the aspirations of Jews for a homeland and that he advocated such a plank as has finally been incorporated in the Democratic National Platform on the subject.

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
U. S. Senator from Rhode Island

I am supporting the idea of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I do this as a Christian who is deeply moved by the tragedy which has befallen the Jewish people. I do this as an American, reiterating the policy announced by our Congress in 1922, and by all Presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At this time America wishes to appeal again for the Jewish National Home in Palestine, which has made a

*From Mr. J. Rixey Smith, Secretary to Senator Glass.

definite contribution to our civilization, and which may be counted on to do so in the years to come.

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY
U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania

Should the Palestine Resolution introduced by Congressmen Wright and Compton be passed by the House, I shall be glad to support it in the Senate.

Senate 247 still pends before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member. It is under consideration at the present time. Please be assured that I am most sympathetically disposed toward the Jewish Race and I am greatly in favor of doing whatever may be possible to prevent the atrocities which have been invoked against them by our enemies. I shall act accordingly when the vote is reached on the resolution.

HON. CARL A. HATCH
U. S. Senator from New Mexico

The achievements of the Jewish community of Palestine are, indeed, an inspiring and glorious record of a community that has, in the words of President Roosevelt, become a model of democracy in action. The extent of Jewish Palestine's contribution to the war effort of the United Nations may be gauged by the fact that over 30,000 Jewish youth of Palestine are serving with the armed forces alongside the British in the Middle East and on all other fronts. Many of these Jewish boys have given their lives fighting on the battlefields of Ethiopia, Libya, Crete, Greece and other fronts. It is significant that up until very recently Jewish Palestine was the only community in the Middle East that has from the very begin-

ning of the war consistently fought alongside the forces of the United Nations, and has poured its manpower and resources into the fight against the Axis.

HON. ALBERT W. HAWKES

U. S. Senator from New Jersey

I firmly believe that the passage of this Resolution announcing that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it clearly being understood that nothing shall be done which may jeopardize the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected, and shows that the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish National Homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution.

The United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

This will show clearly that the people of the United States recognize that the hope of a sound peace after the winning of the war is as important as the winning of the war itself, if we are to set an example to the peoples of the world of the need for tolerance and understanding of the needs of our fellowman.

HON. CARL HAYDEN

U. S. Senator from Arizona

It is obvious to those who favor constructive action that timing is the sole question to be determined, and by that we should not assume that nothing should be done until Hitler and Hirohito are completely defeated.

I have great confidence in the sound judgment of Walter C. Lowdermilk of the United States Soil Conservation Service, author of "Palestine, Land of Promise," who estimates that a proper utilization of the land and water resources of Palestine will provide farm homes for at least four million Jewish refugees from Europe. Upon such a food producing base it is reasonable to assume that an equal number could gain a living by industry.

The conclusion is inevitable that wise statesmanship can and must find a way to remove the bars to immigration and permit the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. LISTER HILL

U. S. Senator from Alabama

With reference to Senate Bill No. 247, I want to state that I shall vote for this bill and am doing everything within my power to have it passed by the Senate.

HON. RUFUS C. HOLMAN

U. S. Senator from Oregon

I take this opportunity to record my approval and to pledge my active support of Senate Resolution 247 and all other similar measures intended to accomplish the same purpose.

HON. SAMUEL D. JACKSON

U. S. Senator from Indiana

The layman cannot be deaf to the wailing chant calling for a Jewish home for all the children who long to return from the four corners of the world where fate has taken them.

That voice has not gone unanswered. The Congress of the United States, reflecting the evolution of a new philosophy and a new concept of international policy, has answered.

The Palestine resolution reads:

"Resolved, That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

The Palestine resolution calls the world to help—to help to strengthen internal security; to abate the philosophy and practice of exploitation; to encourage development economically, culturally, and intellectually in the interest of the common people.

I reaffirm the belief that unless the world helps the wretched the world itself becomes degenerate.

This help by the remainder of the world must be acquired upon a basis of justice more than charity, understanding more than supercilious toleration. Toleration synonymous with the elimination of racial integrity and nationalistic hopes will not avail. Toleration which is merely a provincial and cultural imperialism will not do.

If this world help acknowledges the justice of collective survival as a legitimate right, it promises a rich harvest. The Zionist program is entitled to encouragement

on the basis of justice and rectitude and embodies the hope that it not be required to depend upon the crumbs from the table of a patronizing indulgence.

HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE

U. S. Senator from West Virginia

I have always felt that the expression "National Home for the Jewish People" was the wrong one. I believe that what the Jewish people need is a nation to which those who desire may go. The creation of such a nation will end a great deal of international demagoguery on the part of those who strive to achieve power through hatred of minority groups within their country.

HON. ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Jr.

U. S. Senator from Wisconsin

I am in complete sympathy with the objectives which the Jews seek to accomplish in the establishment of a homeland in Palestine. It must be remembered, however, that the British Government has the mandate there from the League of Nations. Any change in the policy enunciated in the British White Paper must come from that government.

The U. S. Constitution gives primary responsibility for the conduct of our relations with foreign governments to the Executive. I shall be glad to give support to S. Res. 247, provided that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War approve its passage and assure the Foreign Relations Committee that adoption of the resolution will not endanger our military operations.

HON. WILLIAM LANGER
U. S. Senator from North Dakota

The fate of the Jewish people during the last ten or fifteen years belongs to the most tragic and shameful episodes of human history. The horrors inflicted upon the people of the Bible by our common enemy have made a mockery out of the concepts of Christianity and western civilization.

The Zionist Movement, aiming at the re-constituting of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, has, I am happy to say, brought new hope and strength to hundreds of thousands of those innocently hunted men and women.

It ought to be the aim of all God-fearing liberty-loving people to aid this only constructive movement to solve one of the most appalling problems of our times.

HON. SCOTT W. LUCAS
U. S. Senator from Illinois

The liberation of Rome must in at least a small way give hope to the millions of suffering men, women and children in Europe who are the victims of Nazi oppression.

Our work is determined for us. It is to dig out the roots of fascism and everywhere kill its poisons. But even this will not be sufficient!

We must work to weld the races of this earth into one human race, one family.

History shows us the wrong way to do it. History is a long story of racial and nationalistic hatreds, class strife and intolerance.

Our responsibility after this war, is to create a world consciousness and security which will permit the races of mankind to live together, side by side, in peace.

HON. PAT McCARRAN

U. S. Senator from Nevada

I favor the resolution that would make Palestine available and safe for Jewish habitation. The cradle-land of the Jew should be a haven for those of that race who would find peace and contentment there. Persecution and intolerance should end forever.

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

U. S. Senator from Arkansas

The tragedy of the Jewish people of Europe is of such magnitude that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine may offer the only permanent solution. There, at least, those who are fortunate enough to survive will have a chance to begin their lives anew. Unquestionably, the rehabilitation of these people should have, and I am sure, will have the sympathetic study of the United Nations at the close of the war. The full implementation of the proposed Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine should be a part of the program.

HON. KENNETH McKELLER

U. S. Senator from Tennessee

I have always been interested in the Jewish problem and I have observed with great sympathy over many years the development of the Jewish National Homeland

in Palestine. You can be assured that I will aid and co-operate wherever I can.

HON. FRANCIS MALONEY

U. S. Senator from Connecticut

With a full realization of the world problem of the Jewish people I have been among those anxious to help in the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland. My feeling has been intense—and continues. On many occasions I have discussed the matter with Secretary of State Hull, and others, and I have every reason to believe that they share the feeling and the hopes which many of us have.

In keeping with the welfare of our own country, I shall do everything I can to help the saddened Jewish people to realize their high hopes and worthy aims.

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK

U. S. Senator from South Carolina

It is a real source of pleasure to me that the Democratic National Convention, in its platform, adopted at Chicago recently, included a forthright plank on Palestine.

I am confident that this action will meet with the approval of the great majority of American citizens who are anxious to see a permanent solution to the Jewish tragedy of Europe.

HON. JAMES M. MEAD

U. S. Senator from New York

In answer to a delegation from the American Jewish Congress of 1919, the late President Woodrow Wilson said:

"I have before expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding Palestine. I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Our support of the Jewish National Homeland twenty-five years ago was an act of faith, as well as an act of elementary justice. The growth of the Jewish National Homeland from a tiny settlement of some tens of thousands to a thriving modern community of more than half a million is one of the most thrilling and glorious episodes in history. While the rest of the world was plunging headlong into the abyss of depression and war, Jewish Palestine was building and expanding. While other nations were ravaging whole countries, the Jews of Palestine were transforming wasteland into a veritable garden of Eden.

We in America have both the moral responsibility and the legal right to demand the full and complete implementation of the Balfour Declaration, as it unquestionably was interpreted by Woodrow Wilson, to wit, the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in its fullest meaning.

HON. EUGENE D. MILLIKIN

U. S. Senator from Colorado

I have taken a keen and approving interest in the restoration of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and I believe that one of the peace objectives should include more effective provisions for that Home than have existed since the beginning of the experiment. My votes in the Senate and whatever influence I may have will favor all sensible measures for the furtherance of this desirable end.

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

U. S. Senator from Montana

Since 1917, the Government of the United States has reiterated its positive policy toward the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

Events since then have proven conclusively the imperative of fostering a Jewish homeland in Palestine. By their industry and diligence the Jewish immigrants have in the course of a few peaceful years between the two world wars performed virtual miracles in the development of agriculture, industry, commerce and culture in Palestine. The improved economic conditions of the Arab population, the fact that it has almost doubled in recent years, is an indication that a Jewish homeland in Palestine can prove to be a blessing not only to persecuted European Jews, but the Arabs as well.

The Jews were Hitler's first victims in 1933. Since he started the present carnage in 1939, the Jews have suffered on a scale unprecedented in human history. Their casualties are by far the largest of any other people in Europe with the exception of the Soviet Union.

The Christian world must see to it that justice is done to the Jewish people. We must make it possible for the Jewish survivors of the German fury to find a haven and a refuge in a country of their own, in the land of their early Hebrew ancestors—in Palestine.

The time to act in the true spirit of the Balfour Declaration, to which our government stands committed by the Resolution of the Congress of the United States of 1922, is NOW. I sincerely hope that such action will not long be delayed.

HON. W. LEE O'DANIEL

U. S. Senator from Texas

I am watching the movement you mention very closely and will continue to give it careful study.

HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

U. S. Senator from Wyoming

The Allies engaged in a war to preserve liberty and tolerance should see that Palestine is made a Homeland for the Jews.

HON. JOHN H. OVERTON

U. S. Senator from Louisiana

The terrible and inhuman persecution, beggaring all description, to which the Jewish people have been subjected renders it not merely just and equitable but inescapably necessary that a National Home for them should be established in Palestine. All lovers of humanity should join this great movement. The Balfour Declaration with all of its recommendations should be adhered to.

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

U. S. Senator from Florida

We are learning through hard and bitter experience that peace is indivisible. We are learning another lesson as well, that so long as freedom is imperiled in any one part of the globe, it is threatened everywhere. To this we must now add the proposition that national security, which is the logical outgrowth and blessing of peace and freedom

is indivisible as well. So long as any group anywhere in the world suffers from the inability to fulfill its destiny in nationhood, so long shall peaceful and free nationhood be threatened everywhere. The Jewish people have earned the right to peaceful and free nationhood. They cannot be stopped from attaining it.

HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

U. S. Senator from Maryland

On numerous occasions I have expressed the hope that a Jewish National Home in Palestine would be secured and maintained.

The American Jewish People living in the United States are highly patriotic and I assume the vast majority of them would not desire to move to Palestine.

Certainly it seems to me that both Jewish and Christian peoples would want to see a Jewish National Home established in Palestine and I am looking forward to seeing much more progress made in that direction.

HON. CLYDE M. REED

U. S. Senator from Kansas

Persecution of the Jews has outraged every fair minded citizen throughout the world, regardless of his religion, or his politics. Nothing can justify or excuse the brutality shown toward them by various countries, especially in Germany and German dominated countries, and other countries not dominated by Germany.

I am not sure of the answer. Certainly the persecution should stop. That is one of the minor purposes perhaps, but still one of the purposes of the present war in which

we are engaged. Whether the correct answer is the one you suggest—the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, is a matter of doubt. I have had many letters from Jewish people on this subject. They are divided in their opinion. Predominantly, I think they favor that idea.

I do know, however, that this is one of the most difficult and complex segments of British foreign policy. I think the British have blundered woefully in the handling of this question since the first World War. Perhaps a different policy might have brought a different and better result. I cannot be sure.

I do doubt the wisdom of the American people, through a formal Congressional expression, undertaking to interfere in the foreign policy of another country, which is our ally in the present war. The President and the State Department can make representations to the British Government in line with the overwhelming sympathy of the country to stop Jewish persecution, and to provide as well as may be some answer for this problem.

HON. CHAPMAN REVERCOMB

U. S. Senator from West Virginia

I can understand and deeply sympathize with the Jewish people in their desire to have a national homeland. Naturally, Palestine, with its historic background in the life of the Jewish people, must be considered as a desirable place for such a homeland.

It is, indeed, my earnest hope that we may, through proper and peaceful measures, help work out a plan to keep open there a place of refuge and of national settlement for your people.

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS
U. S. Senator from North Carolina

I am of the opinion that our country is now provided with an opportunity to step into the Palestine situation with grace and complete legality.

In accordance with the termination of the British-American Treaty of 1924, there was to be made no alterations whatever by Britain in the status of this mandated area on both sides of the River Jordan without the express permission of the United States of America.

Unfortunately, according to my attitude, an alteration has been made in that the British White Paper on Palestine became effective on April 1 of this year, and as a result thereof millions of unfortunate people within the sphere of the European axis are now deprived of their only hope of escape and are suffering untold tortures.

The doors of Palestine should be opened and should remain open permanently.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
U. S. Senator from Georgia

Glad to have views concerning House Resolutions 418 and 419 which advocate the Abrogation of the British White Paper. Be assured that similar measures coming before the Senate will receive my most careful and sympathetic consideration.

HON. J. G. SCRUGHAM
U. S. Senator from Nevada

The opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and the further development of a Jewish National Homeland in that country meets with my approval.

HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

U. S. Senator from Minnesota

When the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate has its meeting, I expect the resolution will be favorably reported to the Senate and I see no reason why it should not pass the Senate.

Of course, I will support the resolution.

HON. ELLISON D. SMITH

U. S. Senator from South Carolina

I am in favor of the Resolution calling for free entry of Jews into Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth.

I shall be very glad to assist in any way I can to obtain this objective.

HON. TOM STEWART

U. S. Senator from Tennessee

I do not feel qualified to speak on a question which has received so much profound study from distinguished leaders who have so much greater knowledge of the subject. However, I may say that I am greatly impressed by their accord in supporting the movement for the Jewish National Home in Palestine and in adding my approval I have been willing to rely upon their high purpose and sound judgment.

Basically, aside from any surrounding circumstances and contingencies of which I may be ignorant, the notion of re-establishing a homeland for the Jews in Palestine has always seemed to me merely recognition of an inherent right of the Jewish people.

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

U. S. Senator from Utah

To neglect the advancement of the cause for a Jewish Homeland at this time when the thoughts of the whole world should be on the plight of the Jew would be a step backward. Let us not fail to help all mankind by furthering the Zionist cause which has become almost a universal desire.

HON. ELMER THOMAS

U. S. Senator from Oklahoma

I am glad to go on record again as being in favor of making it possible for Jewish people to re-enter Palestine.

The men and women of Jewish Palestine have confronted the Hitler gangsters bravely and strongly; they have repelled them from the gates to the Near East and have done a great service to the cause of the United Nations.

The United Nations will not forget the debt of gratitude we owe to the Jews. On the peace table their demand for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will be heard and will be filled.

America's honor is pledged to the accomplishment of this great goal.

HON. CHARLES W. TOBEY

U. S. Senator from New Hampshire

In the midst of this war let us not lose sight of the fact that the Jewish people are striving for a national homeland.

While we are fighting with all our power and might to establish democracy in the wide world let us give heed to the pleas of these good people who want a country that they can call their own.

Since the Balfour Declaration opened the doors of Palestine to the Jews the land there has been effectively cultivated and the Jewish inhabitants have advanced the country hundreds of years.

No real American can have aught but a sympathetic interest in this movement that would make Palestine a sanctity of rest and nationalize it for the Jewish Race forever.

My influence will be directed toward helping the Jewish people achieve this goal.

HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN

U. S. Senator from Missouri

My sympathy, of course, is with the Jewish people and I am of the opinion that a resolution such as this should be very circumspectly handled until we know just exactly where we are going and why.

With the difficulties looming up between Russia and Poland, and the Baltic States and Russia, and with Great Britain and Russia, it is absolutely necessary to us in financing the war. I don't want to throw any bricks to upset the applecart, although when the right time comes I am willing to help make the fight for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

HON. JAMES M. TUNNELL

U. S. Senator from Delaware

The Zionist movement demands and has a right to expect from Great Britain at the termination of this world

war a home in the land of its Fathers. This accomplishment will be a victory for those who seek to establish a home. It will be a victory for those who seek to establish a religious capitol for the Jewish faith. It will establish a home for those who now have no national home. It will end barbaric slaughter of the Jewish people, and will result in the development of Palestine to an extent that will gratify and be pleasing to the Jew, as well as the Gentile, to the faithful followers of Allah, as well as to every believer in national integrity and racial fair dealing. We, both the Jew and the Gentile, shall see the ancient shrine of our religion revived, renewed and revitalized.

HON. MILLARD E. TYDINGS

U. S. Senator from Maryland

The Jewish Homeland in Palestine should be preserved during and after this war. I have frequently spoken in support of this proposition. Not only does this institution fulfill a natural urge within the hearts of the Jewish people for a land of their very own, but it stems, too, from an innate desire of the civilized nations to rub out some of the past pages of intolerance toward the Jews and give them a place where their great talents may find fuller flower under their own government.

HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

U. S. Senator from Michigan

There can be no doubt in anybody's mind regarding my attitude toward the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I have long been associated with the organizations supporting this great objective. I continue to believe that the Jewish National Home represents one of the greatest

of all major ideals in international justice and humanity. Regardless of race, religion or creed it cannot fail to claim the fidelity of those who love their fellow men and who pray for peace with justice in this war-torn world.

HON. MON C. WALLGREN

U. S. Senator from Washington

The liberal policy of the Democratic Party is clearly indicated in the official platform adopted at their recent National Convention. It places definitely responsibility upon members of Congress and our national leadership to use the good offices of our Government to insist upon the solution of the present tragic Jewish problem accentuated through the barbaric massacres committed by our common enemy.

We must preserve the rights of the remnants of Israel wherever they may live, to enter and colonize unrestrictedly Palestine and thereby helping eventually to achieve there a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. ARTHUR WALSH

U. S. Senator from New Jersey

Anything I might say would add only the value of reiteration to the justice and force of the humanitarian and historical reasons why Palestine should be kept open to Jewish immigration.

Twenty-two years ago the Congress of the United States gave its formal approval to the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, based upon the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations mandate to Great Britain. The Congress should again express the hope of the American people that provisions then made will be kept and that the ancient homeland of

this persecuted people will remain open to those Jews who desire to help create there a commonwealth of their own.

HON. DAVID I. WALSH

U. S. Senator from Massachusetts

I will continue my efforts to be helpful in establishing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. I have always supported this movement for the establishment of a Home for the Jewish People in Palestine and I agree that such action is vital to the safety and welfare of the Jewish people in the future, and to rescue those who have survived the Nazi and other persecutions.

HON. SINCLAIR WEEKS

U. S. Senator from Massachusetts

I have watched with keen interest and sympathy the splendid work for the upbuilding of Palestine since the historic Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917, and now feel that the doors of Palestine should be open for free entry of Jews into that country; further, that there should be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

In these stormy days, when all values are rapidly changing, we must remain true to the ideal that in the face of approaching Allied victory there must be justice for the Jewish people in and outside of Palestine as well as for all victims of the Nazis, and that they are entitled to freedom, the right to earn their bread in peace, and to live in comradeship with their neighbors.

The great contribution made by Palestine to the Allied Cause is a glorious chapter of this war. The struggle of

Palestine is inseparable from the global struggle for the preservation of liberty and the triumph of democracy's cause. As Americans who are interested in preserving and extending the democratic form of government to all people, we well can be interested in the actual democracy being built in Palestine.

The recent Republican Convention reaffirmed what America's foremost statesmen have indicated: the friendly and understanding interest of America in the constructive work that world Jewry is doing in rebuilding Palestine and forwarding there the establishment of a free and democratic Commonwealth.

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

U. S. Senator from Montana

Some years ago I made a statement in favor of it and am inclined to be in favor of it now. In view of the fact there is a difference of opinion among the Jewish people themselves on this subject, and in view of the fact that during the war the Secretary of State and General Marshall have opposed doing anything about it at this time, I want to look into the subject more carefully.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

U. S. Senator from Wisconsin

Ruthless totalitarian dictators have left a bloody trail of pillage and carnage in the oppressed ranks of helpless minorities. The ravaging of these minority groups has kindled the flame of sympathy and understanding among decent folks everywhere and has given an overwhelming moral force to the cause of the Allied Nations.

I have every sympathy and support for the movement to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

HON. RAYMOND E. WILLIS

U. S. Senator from Indiana

It is a symbol of the upward movement of the earth's people toward heavens' light, that your people are seeking to organize in the direction of a homeland, after all of these centuries of historical wandering.

I took pleasure in informing the many Jewish citizens of Indiana of my approval of the recent Palestine Resolution in the United States Senate, based on the fact that it was founded on the American ideal of racial and political tolerance. Though the resolution was purely advisory in nature, inasmuch as we are not responsible nationally for the disposition of lands, or details of government in that far off country, it was entirely proper in that it affects millions of our citizens and the policies of an allied nation which has been interested in our internal situation.

I believe there is the hope of a better future inherent in the further development of a Jewish National Homeland in that country.

The European torch-lit shambles of the Jewish minority has graphically silhouetted their problem against the horizon of world sympathy and world consciousness. The war has intensified our consciousness of their plight—and it is a fervent hope that the war will bring the solution not only for this minority but for all minorities and for the more basic injustice inherent in oppression of any group by any other group—for only infinite time can tell what group could next be a helpless minority.

H. RES. 418

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 27, 1944

Mr. WRIGHT submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved*, That the United States shall use its good of-
- 2 fices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors
- 3 of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that
- 4 country, and that there shall be full opportunity for coloni-
- 5 zation, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute
- 6 Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

(b) THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number of Representatives from each State

Alabama	6	Nebraska	3
Arizona	2	Nevada	1
Arkansas	2	New Hampshire	1
California	19	New Jersey	13
Colorado	4	New Mexico	1
Connecticut	6	New York	40
Delaware	1	North Carolina	6
Florida	5	North Dakota	2
Georgia	6	Ohio	20
Idaho	2	Oklahoma	7
Illinois	16	Oregon	1
Indiana	8	Pennsylvania	28
Iowa	6	Rhode Island	2
Kansas	1	South Carolina	5
Kentucky	5	South Dakota	2
Louisiana	4	Tennessee	8
Maine	3	Texas	6
Maryland	5	Utah	1
Massachusetts	13	Vermont	1
Michigan	11	Virginia	6
Minnesota	7	Washington	5
Mississippi	2	West Virginia	6
Missouri	8	Wisconsin	9
Montana	1	Wyoming	1
Total		318*	

* And 10 more Representatives listed on page 90.

HON. RANULF COMPTON

Representative from Connecticut

JOINT AUTHOR, WITH REPRESENTATIVE JAMES A. WRIGHT
OF PENNSYLVANIA, OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

I believe that the only practical and permanent solution to the Jewish problem of the world rests upon fulfillment of the promises of the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland.

As co-author of the 1944 Palestine Resolution in Congress I intend to continue my efforts to find a solution of the Jewish problems and to continue my efforts to bring about favorable action on the Palestine Resolution by the Congress of the United States.

Representative Compton also delivered four speeches in the House of Representatives in which he stated that (1) he has been long interested in Zionism. Hopes it will encourage the State Department and the Administration to act against the White Paper. This is our affair because, together with fifty-two other nations, we gave our approval to the Palestine Mandate, making Great Britain the Trustee. The Congress Resolution of 1922. The Anglo-American Convention of 1924 specifically provided that no changes may be made without our assent. Hence we must insist upon the White Paper abrogation. (2) Most Americans and British desire the abrogation of the White Paper. The British Government may be receptive to our pressure, and we have a right to interfere. Pleads for Congress support, for united action of all political and religious groups. (3) Pressure against the Resolution by a few wealthy Arabs under British domination. Pressure upon the Foreign Affairs Committee by Arab legislators and by the War Department to appease the Arab minority. Who inspires this appeasement? National honor cannot be decided by foreign legislators, nor by an appeasement policy. (4) Story of the War Department's opposition as revealed in Drew Pearson's column.

(1) Speech of January 27, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, it is a signal honor as well as a moral duty to be the joint author and sponsor of House Resolution 419, simultaneously introduced by the Honorable James A. Wright, member from Pennsylvania on the majority side of the House. This is a subject that has been near my heart for many years and as I have indicated, I am most happy to be privileged as a member of Congress to take some action looking toward the abrogation of the British White Paper which attempts to hold the Jewish people as a permanent minority in Palestine and which precludes the relief to the suffering Jew so long and so vividly presented to us in Europe. It is hoped that this joint action by the Congress will give the State Department encouragement to take active steps to bring about favorable action in Europe. It is also my hope that this concerted joint action, with the engendered sympathetic public opinion reawakened by these resolutions, will spur the administration to pursue an aggressive policy toward that end.

Let no one say this is not our business to interfere with Great Britain in this matter. Decidedly it is our affair. Great Britain formally initiated the project in 1918 and wanted our approval and encouragement which we and the other allies of World War No. 1 gave at that time. Subsequently, Great Britain became the trustee—mark you, the trustee—for 52 nations of the League of Nations in establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine. We must not forget that in 1922 a joint congressional resolution favoring the establishment of a Jewish home for the Jewish people in Palestine was adopted unanimously, and we must not forget that in 1924 a special treaty between England and the United States gave special significance and sanction to the mandate for Palestine. It is worthy of note that the treaty specifically set forth that any changes

must be with our assent. This is ample reason, if there were no humanitarian ones, for us to actively and energetically insist that Great Britain abrogate the British White Paper which was enunciated without our assent or approval.

Every humanitarian impulse is toward opening wide the doors of Palestine to our suffering brothers of the Jewish faith. Let me say in conclusion that literally thousands of my constituents in Connecticut, both Jew and gentile, have urged me to lend assistance to any action that might speed the day when Palestine would once more be a haven for the Jew.

Answering those thousands and acting on behalf of the sympathetic members of the minority, I have taken this action today. It is my earnest hope that the House will give unanimous approval to the adoption of the resolution.

(2) From a speech of February 8, 1944:

It is the wish of most Americans and a great majority of the British public that the so-called White Paper promulgated by the Chamberlain government in 1939 be abrogated. It may well be that the present British Government will be receptive to the type of pressure which the Government of the United States can exert toward abrogation of this document. We have the right to interfere and, more important, it is our sacred duty to mankind to interfere with the action of any nation which adversely affects a national policy in which we have a vital and human interest.

Adoption of our resolutions by this Congress will be notice to the British Government and to the world that the cooperative spirit we are anxious to extend toward the solution of international problems must be accorded equal

importance in the solution of purely human, racial problems.

I come before you humbly and with a great feeling of futility as I remember the great men who have espoused this cause. Without your support I am as helpless as the persecuted and tortured Jew. With your aid I, and more important, the hopeless suffering Jews of Europe have a weapon to defend their right to a free homeland — a weapon provided by an expression of strong public opinion from the greatest, the strongest, the most humane, the most tolerant nation on earth.

Some of us here today are Republicans, some are Democrats and a few represent other political parties. Almost daily we unite, in whole or in part, for some fine purpose that raises us above our politics. So it is and so it must be with the Jews, the Christians and the representative of any other faith. We may be divided in our belief, but we must be united in our aim—peace and good will on earth.

Mr. Speaker, when House Resolutions 418 and 419 come before this Chamber with the favorable recommendation of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as I know they will, let a loud and unanimous “Aye” symbolize that we are all tolerant and just Americans—even though in our more selfish moments we may be political partisans and separated in our religious beliefs.

I ask for your support and hope that the resolutions will prevail.

(3) Speech of March 7, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, I want to emphasize briefly to the House this morning that every Member has been put under warning that he may not be given an opportunity for open debate on repudiation of an international treaty which involves national honor, because a few wealthy Arabs under British domination in Palestine, Syria, Irak,

Lebanon, and Egypt have indicated their displeasure with Palestine resolutions now pending before this Congress.

It has become an all-too-frequent practice by persons and elements within this country to attempt to dictate to this Congress. We have, on occasion, resisted these attempts decisively and unequivocally. Now, however, it appears that elements outside the country have been encouraged to try to dictate to the Congress of the United States by advising us what questions we should discuss and what we should not discuss.

I refer, of course, to the public pressure being brought to prevent the Foreign Affairs Committees of the House and Senate from reporting out the bipartisan resolutions on Palestine introduced jointly in the House by me and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wright]. The pressure so far is coming from two known sources—Arab legislators in the countries under British control and from the War Department, which indicates a desire to appease this Arab minority even though such appeasement presents a challenge to our national honor.

I think it is fair to ask who inspires this pressure for appeasement from our war leaders. Presumptuous dictation from foreign legislators should be resisted and resisted unanimously. This country is honor-bound by its own signed covenant to prevent the British from closing Palestine to the suffering Jew in Europe as they now plan on March 31. I urge you to inform yourself of this by reading the convention we signed with Great Britain in 1925.

If we have no foreign policy of our own, I am against continuing to borrow from some other country. A question of national honor cannot be decided on the basis of the attitude of the legislators of some foreign country—nor on any policy of appeasement.

We can be a good neighbor and a staunch ally without submitting to dictation from 10 Downing Street.

(4) From a speech of March 8, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I called attention to the fact that the Members of the House were to be denied an opportunity for open discussion on Palestine resolutions because this administration has bowed to protests from foreign governments. Today I am compelled to focus attention on further evidence of a planned conspiracy to prevent public discussion of a matter that involves our national honor.

The question we must decide is broader than that involved in the rights of the Jews in Palestine, it is a question of whether or not this Congress is to continue to submit to dictation from outside sources.

Here is Mr. Pearson's column for what it is worth:

Patrick J. Hurley's long séance with the President on the problems of the Near East is continuing to have repercussions in the War Department and on Capitol Hill. Especially, it has thrown a monkey wrench into Senator Taft's and Senator Wagner's resolution in favor of lifting restrictions on Jewish migration to Palestine and creating a commonwealth of Palestine.

Major General Hurley, who has had conferences with Arab ruler Ibn-Saud regarding Saudi Arabia's vast oil reserves, reported to the President that the Arabs would revolt if further Jewish migration into Palestine were permitted. Arab-Jewish riots, he indicated, would cause trouble for British troops.

The President suggested that the former Secretary of War report on this situation to the present Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson.

Hurley did. Apparently there was a prompt meeting of minds between the two Secretaries of War. Stimson already had sent a letter to Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, regarding Jewish migration and, after Hurley's call, he sent Chief of Staff Marshall himself to testify secretly before Connally's committee.

General Marshall was most emphatic in opposing the Taft-Wagner resolution. He contended that its passage would be a calamity, basing this opinion on the reaction of the Arabs and

the possibility that British troops would have to be used to quiet them.

However, the net result of the Hurley-Marshall-Simson maneuvers will probably be to kill the resolution regarding Palestine. Senator Taft is reported to be somewhat irked, because he took great pains to ascertain in advance that the resolution would meet no administration objection.

Before it was introduced, Taft sent a letter to Secretary Hull asking his views. Since the Secretary of State has been appointed by F. D. R. as chairman of a special committee to help get Jewish refugees out of Axis countries, Taft felt that Hull was the appropriate person to ask. However, he got no response.

Meanwhile Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, called on Hull and asked for his views. Hull read the proposed resolution with painstaking care, then cagily replied: "I cannot tell you that I favor it, because the State Department can take no position in these matters."

So finally, Senator Taft asked his brother Charles, who works in the State Department, to ascertain Hull's views. Charlie Taft took the matter up in a State Department meeting and got word that the Department had no objection to the resolution, whereupon Senator Taft went ahead.

But, subsequently, Assistant Secretary of War McCloy let the cat out of the bag to Rabbi Silver that the War Department was supposed to carry the ball for the State Department, because Hull did not want to take a public stand against the resolution.

All of which has made everybody mad. While Jewish leaders are by no means unanimous regarding Palestine, they are unanimous in not liking Government runarounds. And the current State Department run-around has got under the skin of both Jewish and congressional leaders.

In Congress there is a strong feeling that inasmuch as the bars against Jewish refugees have been let down in this and many other countries, homeless Jews should not be barred from their original home, especially in view of the money they have poured into it for irrigation and reclamation projects. These projects probably have made it possible for Palestine to support around 4,000,000 people, yet there are only 600,000 Jews in Palestine today.

Furthermore, the Jewish Refugee Committee, of which Hull is chairman, has recommended that, because of difficult transportation Jews in Europe be sent to Mediterranean areas rather than across the Atlantic.

All of this has aroused a strong feeling in Congress that the original Woodrow Wilson-Arthur Balfour declaration favoring Palestine as a national home for the Jews must be kept alive at least to the point of leaving Palestine open to Jewish immigration, despite the current British declaration to the contrary.

Representative Compton also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and urged it to render a favorable report on the Resolution.

HON. JAMES A. WRIGHT

*Representative from Pennsylvania**

JOINT AUTHOR, WITH REPRESENTATIVE COMPTON OF
CONNECTICUT, OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION

Mr. Speaker, the resolution introduced today by myself and the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Compton] constitutes a restatement of the established American policy relative to the Jewish national home in Palestine, as declared by the Sixty-seventh Congress, through the adoption of the Palestine resolution in 1922. It is in harmony with the ideals for which this war is being fought.

The tragedy of Jewish homelessness in Europe as intensified by the Nazi persecution, makes it imperative on the part of the United Nations to deal effectively with this grave human problem. After the victory, there will be hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe for whom it will be necessary to find a place of shelter.

The country most available to receive this large number of destitute people is Palestine, where the Jewish pioneers, as a result of their own achievements and sacrifices, have prepared the Jewish national home to absorb these victims of Nazi oppression. The very designation

*A speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, January 27, 1944.

of Palestine as a Jewish national home connotes the freedom of entry of Jews into Palestine as a matter of right. This is a basic attribute of a homeland.

It is worthy of mention that the Jewish community of Palestine has rendered magnificent service to the cause of the United Nations through the work of its factories, the produce of its farms, and the volunteer service of 30,000 of its young men in the armed forces of Great Britain, as members of General Montgomery's heroic Eighth Army.

In speaking of Palestine, President Roosevelt said:

Two decades have witnessed a remarkable exemplification of the vitality and vision of the Jewish pioneers in Palestine. It should be a source of pride to Jewish citizens of the United States that they, too, have had a share in this great work of revival and restoration.

The adoption of this resolution will be a source of comfort to all nations who are now crushed under the heel of the Nazi tyrant.

To the Jews of Europe the adoption of this resolution will give renewed hope and faith.

Representative Wright also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement: Proud to be the cosponsor of the Palestine Resolution. The White Paper would force the Jews into a minority status in their own Homeland. By tolerating it we forget the "Four Freedoms." We have treaty rights in it. The Resolution is politically advantageous to America. By aiding the Jews we would build a friendship with their future Commonwealth. Because of the tragic Jewish problem the Powers, after the last war, including America, designated Palestine as the Jewish National Home. Based on this pledge, the Jews inhabited and rebuilt Palestine. The 1922 Palestine Resolution recognized the need for solving the Jewish problem. This Resolution affirms it. It is not only a Jewish or an American but a world problem.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that I am very proud to be the cosponsor of this resolution which your committee is considering today, and I am also very happy that in this approach to this problem, which is a national rather than a partisan problem, I had the cosponsorship of my distinguished colleague from Connecticut, Mr. Compton.

Now, I think that the United States should give evidence of its post-war intent by assuring Jews of full opportunities for creation of a national homeland in Palestine. The British White Paper would force Jewry into a minority status in the country set aside by mandate as its homeland.

We have moral, treaty, practical, and strategic obligations in this matter. Unless we enunciated the principles of the "four freedoms" with our tongues in our cheeks, we cannot close our eyes to the problem of the Jews.

If we bypass this issue, we are failing to live up to all the principles we profess when we say the right of minorities should not be denied. This is not only a Jewish problem, but a problem of western civilization.

We have treaty rights in this matter, as witnessed by the Convention of 1924 between Great Britain and the United States. We have likewise an interest in preserving the peace and stability of the world.

From the long-term point of view, it is definitely to our political advantages, as Americans, to pass this resolution, to do what we can to see that the rights of free immigration are restored.

The Jews are pacific and democratic by nature. By aiding them at this time we would be building a friendly relationship in the future with whatever commonwealth they might establish. Any movement in the Jews' behalf must be bipartisan to safeguard it against the fate of

previous international causes, such as the League of Nations.

Now, victory will come to the United Nations. It is my prayer that it may come soon. We are fighting a war for the purpose of making this world a better place for our posterity to live in and to obtain conditions for a peaceful and orderly development of mankind.

One of the most tragic problems of humanity is the Jewish problem. This was recognized during the last World War when Palestine was designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, including our own country, as the Jewish national home.

On the basis of this pledge and inspired by this hope, the Jews began to return to Palestine for the purpose of rebuilding their national life. There are today about 600,000 Jews in Palestine. By their own efforts they have prepared the soil of Palestine to enable the country to absorb the large number of homeless Jews in Europe today.

The victory of the United Nations must not be followed by disillusionment and despair. We must not permit conditions to be maintained which would make possible the rise of another Hitler to use the Jewish tragic position in the world as a vehicle for his evil designs.

The Palestine resolution that was adopted 22 years ago by the Sixty-seventh Congress was a recognition of the need of helping to solve the most painful problem of mankind—the Jewish problem.

This resolution asserts that since Palestine is the Jewish national home, the Jews should have the right to enter freely into that home and to develop it agriculturally and industrially.

If these rights be denied to the Jewish people, then

it would be mockery to call Palestine the Jewish national home.

This resolution affirms the fact that freedom of enjoyment of the home is indispensable to the very existence of the home.

I feel that this problem is not only a Jewish problem. It is not only even an American problem, although it is a distinct problem for America as the foremost exponent of democracy and liberal ideas, but it is a world problem, and I feel certain that in order to establish stability in the world after the war, some solution as the one now proposed must be found. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

HON. HAMILTON FISH

Representative from New York

JOINT AUTHOR, WITH SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS, OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION
ADOPTED BY CONGRESS IN 1922.

As the author of the Zionist Resolutions for a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, enacted into law on September 21, 1922, I urge that there be no retreat, surrender, or compromise with the British betrayal of the promises and pledge given in the Balfour Resolution. There can be no compromise with such a perfidious proposal to repudiate her plighted word as set forth in the White Paper practically to stop Jewish immigration into Palestine. There never was a time when there was more need for such a homeland, and there must be no compromise, otherwise all past efforts will have been in vain.

Representative Fish also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following points. Of the Lodge and Fish Resolutions of 1922, only the latter was signed by President Harding. Is more than ever a

Zionist because there is now more need for Zionism. Wrote the protest of the Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs against the White Paper in 1939. Urges there be no retreat, that the President, the State Department and the Congress demand that there be no modification of our treaty rights without our consent. As a member of the Congressional Group, the Inter-parliamentary Union, he spoke to Lord Halifax in London and to Premier Bonnet and Colonial Minister Mandel in Paris about the matter of additional havens for refugees outside of Palestine which can accommodate only one million Jews. The British and the French were co-operative but the war interfered. Believes in territories for Jews additional to Palestine. Endorses the Resolution as a continuance of the American action taken in the past. There should be no delays. Winston Churchill is for a Jewish Homeland. This Resolution would uphold his hands in Parliament.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, it is a great honor and privilege for me to come back here to this committee table around which I sat for some 20 years as a member of your distinguished committee.

I was the Sponsor of the Resolution known then as the Fish-Lodge resolution, and it merely placed the approval of Congress upon the Balfour resolution for the establishment of a homeland in Palestine for Jews with certain restrictions as to religion.

To have the record correct, it so happened that both the Lodge resolution and the Fish resolution passed our respective Houses, but in the parliamentary mix-up the Fish resolution was the only one that went through and was signed by President Harding. It was an act of Congress and not a proclamation of the President, who merely signed the resolution.

I was a Zionist back in 1922, I am a Zionist today, and I am more of a Zionist than ever before now because there is more need for Zionism today to take care of these

homeless Jewish people in Palestine, who are the victims of persecution, hatred, and bigotry, than ever before, so that these hunted and persecuted Jews of central and western Europe may find a refuge in Palestine which was their original homeland.

In looking over my files last evening in preparing a speech to deliver in the Congress at some little length I found an original resolution back in 1939, signed by most of the members of the committee who are here, including the chairman, on this very question.* I happen to have written this statement. And I was a member of this committee and that is why I have the original in my files.

This was the original White Paper that we were protesting back in 1939. We saw the meaning of it at that time and we protested, and we are still protesting it because we know if that is carried out it will be the end of immigration into Palestine and it is in defiance and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate Convention between the United States and Great Britain and the end of the establishment of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine which Congress has gone on record unanimously for.

As the author of the Zionist resolution for a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, enacted into law on September 21, 1922, I urge that there be no retreat, surrender, or compromise with the British betrayal of the promises and pledges given in the Balfour resolution. There can be no compromise with such a perfidious proposal to repudiate her plighted word as set forth in the White Paper to practically stop Jewish immigration into Palestine on March 31, 1944.

I hope that the Zionists all over the world will not

*Representative Fish read the resolution recited on pp. 62-64.

yield to this proposed breach of trust in order to cajole the Arabs by double-crossing the Jewish people in Palestine and elsewhere and selling them out for a mess of porridge.

I urge the President, the State Department, and the Congress to demand that there shall be no modification of our treaty rights in Palestine without our consent.

The proposed disgraceful and shocking repudiation of the Balfour pledges, under which vast sums of money have gone from America to Palestine to rebuild and establish it as a place of refuge for hundreds of thousands of Jewish people of central Europe, must be vigorously opposed. There never was a time when there was more need for such a homeland. There must be no compromise, otherwise all past efforts will have been in vain.

I agree with everything the gentleman from New York, Mr. Celler, had to say, except as to one thing, and possibly there my Zionist friends will not agree with me.

I have stated my views openly, clearly, and they have never been changed. I believe in keeping Palestine open for Jewish immigration in peace and war, and more today than ever before, but I do not go to the extent possibly referred to by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Celler, that there must be no other homelands, or, rather, places of refuge and haven, for Jewish persecuted people throughout the world. But he may have just carried that inference or I may have even misunderstood him.

However, I want to make a statement to the committee that I do not know whether I have ever made before.

In 1939 I was president of the congressional group, the Interparliamentary Union, composed of 24 Members of the House and 4 Members of the Senate. And one of my main purposes at that time of going abroad was to try to find if there was not some other place besides Palestine

for a refugee haven, because eventually even if you put 1,000,000 or so in Palestine there might be a need for a place for more Jewish and those from Spain and elsewhere, and the aim was to see if we could not find some healthy place that would be an additional home and refuge. And men of great wealth and philanthropies were behind this idea and urged me to take the lead in it, which I did not mind because I was sponsor of this resolution.

In my trips to Europe I spoke to Lord Halifax in London on August 4, 1939, and he was very receptive and cooperative even to the extent of having the land set up in the British Empire or sphere of influence or even on British territory. I then saw the French Prime Minister, Mr. Bonnet. Then I also saw the French Colonial Minister—Monsieur Mandel—who himself was a Jewish victim, one of the victims of Hitlerism and I believe was killed. But I met him in Mr. Bullitt's office. I had to talk French to him, and it took me considerable time to persuade him it should be placed in the northern part of Africa and in the highlands so as to take in as many as 10,000,000 people. Finally I convinced him. He arranged for me to come back. I was to telegraph him in advance on September 1 which was the day on which war was declared. He was to call in by air the Governors of Equatorial, West, and North Africa, and the purpose was to find the proper place, and then to start immediately a colony to see how it worked out. The money was already available for that purpose. And he was cooperative, they were all cooperative, to that extent. And so it was decided that Palestine alone even if it took 1,000,000 refugees would not be large enough for this problem.

It has always been a deep regret to me this conference could not be held on account of the war and that it should not have been tried out in some healthy undeveloped part

of Africa. I say that so that people might know the record.

I want to say the British were entirely cooperative and so were the French in every possible way, and I believe it would have gone through. I say that because there are Zionists who believe we should not permit the Jews to go anywhere but Palestine. I am liberal in my view because I believe in sending as many there as it will hold, but there is a limit to everything. This was not of course only for Jewish but for refugees from Spain and also any part of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I am very glad to come here. I am sorry to take up so much of your time. I want to endorse the resolution. I think it is very proper that the Congress of the United States should take action. It is in accordance with action taken in the past. It is entirely up to the committee. But I do believe in the principles of the resolution; I do believe in a homeland for the Jews.

Of course, Mr. Chairman, we do not expect many Jews from America to go to Palestine. This is meant for the persecuted Jews of central and western Europe. There are more of them today than ever before. There is no place for them to go. Mr. Chairman, I believe we should pass a resolution without delaying too long. Every day we delay hundreds of Jews, maybe thousands of Jews, are finding no place to go, dying of starvation and persecution by Hitler and the Nazis.

The tragedy of this war, the greatest single tragedy of the war, is the beastly, inhuman, and barbaric treatment of the Jews in central Europe. There are more Jews who have died in this war than all the armies probably fighting together through sheer persecution, hunger, and famine.

It is little enough for us to do to simply express our desires to the British that they keep their plighted word.

Mr. Chairman, I am of British origin. I admire the

British. Nobody admires Winston Churchill more than I do. I know him personally. He always put the interests of the British Empire first. I believe in that kind of philosophy. But I also admire him in view of the fact that he is for Zionism and for a homeland for the Jewish people. I see no reason why we should not help him. Whenever there is opposition in England, and there is a great deal of opposition in England, why should not we Americans help Winston Churchill? Why should we not pass a resolution so he can get up in Parliament and say, "Here is a resolution from our greatest friends and allies in favor of keeping immigration open to the Jews?" Because they know and we know if you shut the doors now it is the end of aspirations thousands of years old and a breach of faith by the British Government. We cannot in this war repudiate what we did in the last war and serve notice on the Jews of this war their aspirations are at an end and they can no longer hope for anything in the way of establishing a homeland in Palestine.

Therefore I just want to add my voice and to cooperate with you in any properly worded resolution in placing the Congress of the United States and the Government of the United States on record in favor of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine and permitting Jews to continue to immigrate and thus establish this homeland.

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

Representative from Ohio

I have been very much interested in the Jewish question. I believe that the Peace Conference which meets at the conclusion of this war must definitely take a position in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

The thousands of Jewish refugees in Europe, who have been victims of Nazi aggression, will not and cannot return to their former dwelling places. The solution of their problem must be the establishment of a Homeland, and I believe that the Arabic groups can be induced to modify their belligerent stand if the United Nations make their position clear and unequivocal at the Peace Conference.

Representative Bender also delivered the following speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, February 23, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Foreign Affairs Committee is now considering a resolution which, if passed, will reaffirm our traditional interest in the Jewish national home in Palestine, I ask leave to make a few remarks on that subject, prior to reading the text of a resolution which was submitted to me by six Jewish societies in Cleveland.

Palestine was recreated as a homeland for the Jewish people in 1917 through England's historic Balfour Declaration. In 1922, by the action of the League of Nations and by the unanimous consent of the Sixty-seventh Congress of these United States, the civilized world declared itself in favor of this great humanitarian project.

These facts are fairly well known; they have always been considered quite sufficient reason for perpetuating the Jewish homeland which, during the past two decades, has been so valiantly and so magnificently rebuilt by the Palestinian Jews. No one questioned the legality of those international pledges, or considered England's role in Palestine as anything but that of a powerful trustee, until in 1939 the unprecedented happened.

Quite unconcerned with the fact that England was but one part to the Palestine bargain, Prime Minister Cham-

berlain's Colonial Office issued a White Paper which arbitrarily announced that as of March 31, 1944, no more Jews might enter the Jewish national home. Appeasement was the rule of the day. For a number years Palestine had been troubled by gangs of Arab marauders who preyed on Jewish, British and Arab residents. Under the influence of Axis agents, these terrorists used the threat of fascism as a wedge to secure their personal ambitions. Similar tactics had worked effectively at Munich; they worked equally well in Palestine. And the result was that the whole colonization program for Palestine, which had brought new life to half a million Jews and which had been laid down by the nations of the world, was threatened with extinction.

Today we are faced with the consequences of that White Paper which will cut the life line extended from Palestine to hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees in Europe. March 31 is almost here. So many Jews have been murdered by the Nazis that the world has finally been shocked into setting up relief agencies. And Palestine is still on the map as the logical place for Jewish rehabilitation and settlement.

I want to emphasize that Americans have more than a moral right to demand the free entry of Jews into Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as a free and democratic commonwealth.

The Anglo-American Convention, signed by President Coolidge in 1925, should be of special interest to the Members of this House. That treaty provides that no changes shall be made in the terms of the Palestine Mandate without the approval of the United States. It is quite clear, then, that this White-Paper question involves the United States—directly and challengingly.

HON. LYLE H. BOREN

*Representative from Oklahoma**

Submits an article by H. E. Castleberry which sets forth his views. Hitler, Mussolini and the unprecedented Jewish persecutions. America can help by urging England to open the Palestine gates. The refugee problem will be partially solved by Palestine as a Jewish haven. The Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate. Jewish population increase in Palestine is due to the Balfour Pledge. Small area for Jews, very large ones for Arabs. Like Munich the White Paper is an appeasement policy, this time to the pro-Axis Moslems. Mr. Churchill then denounced it as a betrayal. Friendly American insistence would result in again aligning the Prime Minister for the Balfour Declaration. Great Jewish accomplishments in Palestine also caused the population increase of the Arabs who are still mostly pro-Axis, while Jews made contributions to the war effort. Jews are entitled, have earned the right to have a Nation of their own.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very splendid newspaper article written by my personal friend Mr. H. E. Castleberry. The article is very informative and eloquently sets forth what in my judgment is the correct view on a vital problem:

FROM ME TO YOU

(By H. E. Castleberry)

Since Hitler started on his escapade of destruction and subjugation of the races of Europe the Jewish question has loomed large on the horizon and invoked much thinking, especially as it affects the Jews. That the Jews have been badly mishandled and administered treatment that no race is entitled to receive is an undebatable treatment that no race is entitled to receive is not our purpose to condone any national sin or error of the Jewish race, but we here rather hope to bring the question out in the open and discuss it on merit and present some actual facts.

*A speech delivered (by extension of remarks) on the floor of the House of Representatives, March 2, 1944.

In the outset I will drop this thought and observation, based upon history and teachings of the Bible, and it is that no nation or nations have prospered or endured who persecuted the Jews. In the Balfour agreements of 1939, when Britain decreed that Palestine should be the home of the Jews once again, thousands of these people from over Europe and the world migrated back to their ancient but destroyed shrines. And now comes the order that after March 31 this privilege is going to be denied these people.

But I am going to let another talk with you in the remainder of this space allotted today for this column. Joe N. Croom, of the Okmulgee Times-Democrat, has the following to say:

All the world knows what Hitler and Mussolini have done to the Jews. Millions have been killed, other and more millions are destitute refugees, facing a future as hopeless and uncertain as their immediate plight is pitiable.

There is a way in which Americans can help these wandering outcast people at no expense and little trouble. That way is to urge our Senators and Representatives to throw the weight of the United States Government behind a request to Great Britain to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration.

The Jews aren't the only broken victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. There are also the Poles, the Czechs, French, Belgians, and many others. But there is far less hope that when the victory has been won the Jews will be able to reestablish themselves where they once lived than for these other refugees.

It will be impossible for the United States, Great Britain, or any other of the allied and anti-Axis nations to absorb all the refugees of the war-ravaged countries without seriously, perhaps fatally disrupting their own economies. If a haven can be found for a few million Jews, such a haven as Palestine can be made, the post-war problem of what to do about the world's refugees will have been partially solved.

Field Marshal Allenby took Palestine from the Turks in 1917. The League of Nations, with the sanction of the United States, entrusted it to British mandate in 1923.

The British, until 1939, ruled Palestine under the broad policies of the Balfour declaration which present Prime Minister Churchill had much to do with forming. It pledged Britain to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine, without affecting the rights of others who lived there. These others are mostly Moslems.

This policy resulted in an increase in the number of Palestine Jews from about 88,000 in 1922 to more than 478,000 in 1942, a gain of 390,312. In the same 20-year period the Moslem popu-

lation, which was between 600,000 and 700,000 in 1922, gained only 383,000.

The great increase in the Jewish population obviously came through immigration. The great stride toward eventual establishment of the Jewish national home was financed by Jews all over the world, to whom the Balfour declaration or pledge was made.

Palestine has an area of only 10,429 square miles, while there are hundreds of thousands of other sparsely settled square miles for the Arab (Moslem) peoples. In spite of this there always has been friction between the Moslems of Palestine and the Jews. It is due largely to the rival claims of the sacred historic places in Jerusalem. This friction has been a constant source of annoyance to the British.

After Chamberlain "appeased" Hitler by giving away a part of Czechoslovakia, the British Government, in May 1939, sought similarly to appease the Moslems, who were pro-Axis. This appeasement attempt was set out in a white paper in which, contrary to the terms of the mandate and the Balfour Declaration, Jewish immigration to Palestine was limited to 75,000 for the 5-year period that ends March 31, 1944. After that, according to the white paper, no more Jews may establish themselves in Palestine without the approval of the Moslems, who outnumber the Jews 2 to 1. Obviously, that means that 60 days from now no more Jews may move to Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill has denounced the white paper as a virtual betrayal of Britain's mandate trust and her pledge to the Jews of the world.

However, there has been no indication that Britain will renounce the white paper and redeem her Balfour Declaration pledge. It is understandable that Britain does not want to borrow trouble with the Moslems at this stage of the war, but unfortunately the plight of the millions of refugee Jews makes solution of the Palestine problem a matter that can't wait.

It is considered likely by the Jews of the world that a little friendly insistence on the part of the United States would result in Churchill going to bat for the Balfour Declaration that he helped formulate during World War No. 1. Neither Britain nor the United States is any longer in a mood to appease anybody nor in a position where appeasement might seem even expedient.

The Jews, without expense to anybody but their own kind throughout the world, have done wonders in Palestine. They have used the Jordan River to irrigate former waste lands. They have established nearly 3,000 industries, more than 5,000

enterprises in 20 years. They have increased the acreage of land that they own and farm from a little over 100,000 acres to 400,000.

The Moslems, who consistently have opposed the Jewish National Home, have increased their population in Palestine largely because the Jews made it attractive. They are still mostly pro-Axis, however; Jews charge that when Marshal Rommel was on his victorious march and appeared likely to take Palestine and Egypt the Moslems were eager to sell their lands to Jews, figuring that when the Germans came the Jews would be driven out and they would regain their lands at no repurchase cost.

On the other hand, there are 30,000 Jewish volunteers in the British Army. Many Jewish dead lie in north African graves where they gave their lives to drive out the Germans.

The Jews of the world are entitled to their national home in Palestine not only because of the 26-year-old pledge made to them, but because they have earned the right to have a nation of their own with their own sweat and blood and tears.

Individual letters to Members of Congress might well result in British denunciation of the white paper and resumption of the policy of establishing the Jewish state, so delicately is the problem balanced.

HON. THOMAS F. BURCHILL

*Representative from New York**

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to incorporate therein a letter I have received from the American Palestine Committee, together with statement of aims and principles of this organization. I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House the fact that the American Palestine Committee, inaugurated April 30, 1941, is the vehicle for expression of the sympathy and good will of Christian America for the movement to reestablish the Jewish national home in Palestine. I subscribe wholeheartedly to the principles underlying this humanitarian cause. Letter and statement follows:

*A speech delivered (by extension of remarks) on the floor of the House of Representatives, February 18, 1944.

American Palestine Committee,
Washington, D. C., February 19, 1944.

Hon. Thomas F. Burchill,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Burchill: The American Palestine Committee, formed in 1941, has become the vehicle through which leaders in American life are expressing their support for rebuilding the Jewish National Home in Palestine. On behalf of the officers of the committee, we take pleasure in extending to you an invitation to join our membership.

A Hitler edict has pledged the destruction of all the Jews of Europe. About 2,000,000 have already been wantonly slaughtered. The voice of conscience and humanity calls to leaders of American public opinion to express their sympathy in practical terms; to assure the Jews of Europe still living that the hope of re-creating their lives in a free, democratic Jewish National Home will be realized with our support.

In the years between two world wars, the Jewish National Home has received moral and political support from the United States under successive administrations, regardless of party. The reasons which led our people and Government to favor this cause from the outset are still valid; but the case for the Jewish National Home is far stronger today. First, the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine is no longer a doubtful experiment but a convincing reality. The Jewish National Home has made a truly inspiring record in peacetime pioneering and development, in saving hundreds of thousands of refugees from Nazi terror and in contributing valuable manpower and economic support to the United Nations' war effort.

Secondly, the need for the Jewish National Home—for many hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of uprooted Jews—will be far more pressing on the termination of the present war than at any previous time.

The American Palestine Committee is working earnestly and constructively toward that humanitarian goal, in cooperation with the leading responsible organizations of all faiths throughout the country. By signing the enclosed statement of principles signifying acceptance of membership, you will strengthen the hands of the American Government in its traditional support of the Jewish National Home policy, and hearten the homeless Jews of Europe with the assurance that the pledge to rebuild the Jewish homeland will be redeemed with our help.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. WAGNER, Chairman.
CHARLES L. McNARY, Co-Chairman.

STATEMENT OF AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

The American Palestine Committee, inaugurated April 30, 1941, is the vehicle for the expression of the sympathy and good will of Christian America for the movement to re-establish the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

On September 27, 1922, this sentiment of sympathy and good will received official expression from the Government of the United States when President Warren G. Harding affixed his signature to a joint resolution adopted unanimously by the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States and reading as follows:

"That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."

The policy expressed in this resolution has also received the public endorsement of all the Presidents of the United States since 1917: Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The fulfillment of the millennial hope for the reunion of the Jewish people with the land of its ancient inheritance, a hope that accords with the spirit of Biblical prophecy, has always commanded the sympathy of the liberal Christian world. Today, by reason of the appalling persecutions of which millions of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe are the victims—persecutions that avowedly aim at the total extermination of the Jews of that Continent—the fulfillment of this hope is an urgent and tragic necessity.

In the past 20 years, moreover, Palestine has demonstrated its capacity to absorb large numbers of immigrants. In 1920 the Jews in Palestine numbered 83,000; today they number nearly 600,000. Since 1933 Palestine has given refuge to more than 300,000 victims of persecution, more than have found haven in all the rest of the world. That Palestine could accommodate millions of additional inhabitants is attested by competent expert evidence.

The record of Jewish heroism and achievement in the Holy Land has been among the most inspiring works of free and liberty-loving people in the Old World in the last two decades. Cities, villages, and farmsteads have sprung up over sand dunes, marshes, and rocky wastes. Agriculture, industry, and commerce have been modernized and extended. These achieve-

ments, moreover, have brought benefits to the Arabs as well, raising their standards of health, education, and living in Palestine, and introducing the leaven of progress and democracy throughout the Near East. The foundations for a sound and liberal commonwealth have been laid in Palestine, and a people for whom no sacrifice has been too great in the furtherance of the task is pleading for the opportunity to build further upon them.

In the present world emergency the Jewish community of Palestine, by its valiant contributions in manpower, industry, and science, has become a tower of strength to the cause of the United Nations in the Near East.

In truth and in fact, the Jewish National Home in Palestine has been a world-sanctioned experiment in democracy. It must be protected and cherished today as an outpost of freedom and social justice. Its continued upbuilding must be a vital part of a just world order when the present conflict is over.

The aim of the American Palestine Committee is to give every possible encouragement and moral support to this statesmanlike and humanitarian cause. The committee will disseminate correct information to the American public on the progress of the Jewish National Home and will second, with its collective and individual influence, all proper measures that may be taken for its furtherance.

My signature hereto testifies to my approval of this statement and my readiness to serve as a member of the American Palestine Committee.

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

*Representative from Pennsylvania**

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick:

DOLLARS BEFORE HUMANITY

The attitude of the American Government toward the establishment of Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people is not complimentary. The famous Balfour Declaration issued in the name of the British Government following the First World

*A speech delivered (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, March 16, 1944.

War was a joint policy of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. It was hoped then by the Allied Governments that the establishment of a Jewish homeland would solve an age-old problem.

With this in view the British Government assumed a mandate over Palestine, but during the Munich period the then British Government adopted the so-called White Paper restricting immigration, land purchase, and colonization of Palestine by Jewish settlers. While the British Eighth Army was fighting with its back to the Suez Canal the Jews of Palestine were performing heroic deeds as commandos and as other shock troops.

The overwhelming sentiment of the American people is expressed in the simple words of the Senate resolution:

"That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for the free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

There must be some place for the Jews of Europe and Asia to go. They have been dispersed and massacred in Germany, Poland, Russia, and other countries. Millions of them are fugitives. They were making wonderful progress in Palestine, building modern towns and cities and in the development of agriculture until the British policy changed.

Now there is another complication—this time a serious one. The natural enemies of the Jews in Palestine are the Moslems, whose faces turn to Mecca and Medina. Mecca is in Saudi Arabia. That country has a crafty, determined ruler in the person of Ibn Saud. Just now the American Government is showering Ibn Saud with gifts. They smell of oil.

Arabia has fabulous oil reserves—the richest in the world—and American capital is there on the ground floor. There is where Secretary Ickes of the P. R. C. wants to build a pipe line at a cost of \$165,000,000 for the transportation of this oil from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

Is this why the United States Government has lost interest in Palestine as a Jewish homeland? Do dollars come before humanity?

HON. LEONARD W. HALL

Representative from New York

In the Balfour Declaration the Jewish aspirations were

not only stated; they were welcomed, embraced. The Jews were to be given a National Homeland, a true Homeland. It was to be theirs by right and not on sufferance.

The British Government assumed the solemn obligations laid down in the Mandate, proposing the creation of a true Jewish National Homeland. Outstanding among those obligations were two—that the British Government “shall facilitate Jewish immigration” and “shall encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land.”

These obligations were accepted by the British Government. They were pledges of good faith and of action in terms of translations, under the mandate. They were the tools with which the national homeland was to be fashioned and protected.

Unhappily, the rising star of Jewish aspirations in Palestine has been arrested in its course.

The ominous course now under way in Palestine must be corrected. The broken pledge has not only to be mended, but it has to be made whole. Otherwise there cannot be any true upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland.

I earnestly hope that the British Government will elect the right course. It is the only decent course.

Representative Hall also delivered a speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives on March 16, 1944, affirming his interest in the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration gave Jews a National Homeland by right not by sufferance. The Mandate assumed solemn obligations, pledging a Jewish National Homeland. The British White Paper is a betrayal of faith, converting it into an Arab homeland. The British policy is an abject surrender to the Arabs. The White Paper is infamous, crafty, tricky, the precise reverse of the Mandate obligations on immigration, land settlement. First the British applied the policy of economic capabilities, now the political absorptive capacity, Arabs to determine such capacity. It

is against the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate terms. Jewish aspirations arrested. Course must be corrected, pledges kept. Jewish aspirations will be forever lost unless the White Paper is abrogated. The British Government has two choices: persist in betrayal of the Jews or reaffirm its attachment to Jewish National aspirations. Hopes the British Government is for the second and only decent course. Magnificent Jewish achievements in Palestine are affecting all its inhabitants.

Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address delivered by me at the special service and public meeting of the Freeport Zionist District, at Temple Israel, Freeport, N. Y., Sunday, March 5, in protest of the Palestinian White Paper.

The subject before this meeting, the Jewish national home in Palestine, is one of great interest to me. However, in discussing it briefly, I am reluctant to approach it from merely a legalistic or political viewpoint, in terms of the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate, the action of the League Council, the convention between England and ourselves, or any of the so-called White Papers, especially the one of 1939.

I do not want to be led onto the bypaths of political and legal conflicts that it is claimed influence the question. I do not want to be led into the maze of twisting and tortuous thinking on this subject.

To me there is but one highway of approach. In my view, it is straight and it has a solid foundation. I know, taking this main road of thinking, that in the terms and the acceptance of the Balfour Declaration, the Jewish aspirations were not only stated, but they were welcomed, embraced. The Jews were to be given a national homeland, a true homeland. It was to be theirs by right and not on sufferance. It is needless to go into the history attending this declaration, its whys and wherefores. We here know that history and the world knows it, too.

The Mandatory — the British Government — assumed the solemn obligations laid down in the mandate, purposing the creation of a true Jewish national homeland. Outstanding among those obligations were two—that the British Government “shall facilitate Jewish immigration” and “shall encourage close settlement by the Jews on the land.” These objectives were necessarily essential, fundamental, to the creation of the home. They were,

and they are, indeed, the bricks and the mortar from which the structure—the home—must rise.

These obligations were imposed upon and accepted by the British Government. They were pledges of good faith and of action in terms of translation, under the mandate. They were the tools with which the national homeland was to be fashioned and protected.

Facilities of Jewish immigration was promised. Now we see it, for all purposes, stopped. And to be stopped for all time to come unless the Arab population give their assent. There is the dark picture and it traces out a dark story. In effect, the British Government as the Mandatory has assigned its obligations affecting Jewish immigration for execution by the Arabs. It has put into their keeping the determination—Arab determination—of what Jewish immigration shall be permitted to enter what was to be the Jewish homeland. If this is not a betrayal of faith, the shattering of a solemn pledge, then I am simply unable to properly assess the ordinary meaning that is to be attached to the action taken. Palestine, under the British White Paper, is not to have a Jewish homeland. Instead, it is to be converted into the homeland of the Arabs!

The British policy under the White Paper means one thing—abject surrender to the Arabs. The Jews are to be left as a hopeless minority. They are to be politically and economically fenced in. They are to be placed in a political and economic corral. Yet the British White Paper dares to characterize this adjustment as equitable and fair and comporting to their word and bond to succor and advance Jewish aspirations for a true Jewish national homeland.

The White Paper of 1939 is wholly infamous. Bluntly, it is crafty, tricky. But not alone on the subject of immigration. Under the mandate, there is also the definite injunction that the mandatory shall encourage close settlement by Jews on the land. Between the announced policy under the mandate and the practical policy under the White Paper is a terrible chasm. In effect, the White Paper bodily lifts the word "encouragement" out of this injunction and substitutes the word "discouragement." The White Paper, to state the present British policy correctly should read that the mandatory shall practice a policy of discouragement in settlement by Jews on the land. Land and immigration are inseparably tied together. Under the policy of restriction of land sales from Arab to Jew, there is simply no way for Jews to acquire land. Here, again, we have the Arab veto in prospect.

In the early days the British applied the policy of economic absorptive capacity. That was the policy once. Now, evidently, it is to be the policy of political absorptive capacity—leaving it again to the Arabs to determine how many Jews they are willing that Palestine should take in. When the Balfour Declaration was made, when the mandate was given, we did not hear anything about Jewish immigration and Jewish settlement on the land being based on political absorptive capacity of the country.

The rising star of Jewish aspirations in Palestine has been arrested in its course. The fear is that it may fall. Frankly, I share that fear.

The ominous course now under way in Palestine must be corrected. The broken pledge has not only to be mended, but it has to be made whole. Otherwise there cannot be any true upbuilding of the Jewish national homeland. And the aspirations of Jews in Palestine to shape their own constitutional processes will be forever lost if the White Paper is not abrogated. It must be.

The British Government has one of two courses to follow: To persist in the betrayal that is made known to the world in the White Paper, or to reaffirm and renew its attachment to Jewish aspirations for a true Jewish national homeland by outright abrogation of the White Paper.

I hope earnestly that the British Government will elect the second course. That is the right course. It is the only decent course. And our Government, under the convention with Great Britain, I believe, has the duty and should insist that this course should be taken.

I know, although imperfectly, necessarily, as against the knowledge of men and women more intimately acquainted with the Palestine return movement, the record of achievement that the Jews in Palestine have built. It is a magnificent one, a grand one, and affects not only the Jews, themselves, but their Arab and other neighbors.

And let us here, Jew and Gentile alike, ponder that record and what perfecting it can mean and will mean to humanity everywhere.

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
Representative from Colorado

I have carefully considered and analyzed the material

that has come to my attention on the solution of the Jewish problem and the settlement of the Jews in a National Home at Palestine.

None of the arguments opposing this Zionist organization and the settlement of the Jewish people in Palestine seem to ring true. Personally, I am of the opinion that you are engaged in a great humanitarian and uplifting program. Your organization has my best wishes and continuous support for its success.

Representative Hill also delivered the following speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, March 16, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 9, 1944, in the New York Herald Tribune, I find the following editorial. The last paragraph of this editorial indicates the proper direction our effort should take in developing a program for the relief of the suffering Jewish people in the war-ridden countries of Europe:

THE WAR AND PALESTINE

Congress is under strong pressure to pass a resolution, now introduced in both Houses, reiterating the principles stated in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and resolving: "That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country * * * so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." Under the provision of the British White Paper of 1939, Jewish immigration to Palestine will be barred after this month unless the Palestinian Arabs acquiesce in its continuance.

The resolution is prompted by Americans' sense of justice and great sympathy for the Jewish people. However, Congress has been requested by Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of State Hull to drop the resolution. Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, has backed their request in closed hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. We do not know the precise basis for the request, but no doubt it turns on the protests of the Arab states, and no doubt it is the conviction of our

highest military authorities that the resolution will create difficulties in the prosecution of the war. It is our considered opinion that the advice of the military authorities must be accepted.

Acceptance is hard because Americans generally feel that strict application of the 1939 White Paper at this time of peril and uncertainty for the Jews of Europe is regrettable and they want to make their protest known. They believe that the Balfour Declaration promised Palestine to the Jews as a homeland and that the White Paper, in effect, withdraws that promise. But the White Paper was a war measure in 1939 and obviously is still considered a war measure in 1944. It goes without saying that it cannot be considered as prejudicing future settlement of the Palestine issue.

It seems to us that it is within the province of the State Department to make, and that the State Department should make, the strongest possible representations to the British Government that interpretation of the immigration provision be as generous as possible; that every effort be made to facilitate the issuing of 30,000 unused visas which will be still available after this month, and to secure Arab consent for emergency reception of refugees. At a later date, when military considerations are not compelling, the Congress might well go on record with a resolution affirming the American viewpoint.

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

Representative from Massachusetts

To build the Kingdom of God, the Jews must not be dissipated among other nations. Always as ineffective minorities, as the Prophets preached, they must have their own nation—there to work and develop the ideal social order, as a model and example from which other nations may learn.

The suffering, shame and persecution of the centuries must not condemn the Jews to an unending mission of martyrdom. As a liberal and peace-loving people, they are needed today; needed as a nation in the world which has lost sight of the ancient virtues.

At the peace table it will not be exclusively for Britain to decide the ultimate fate of Palestine. The United

States also has a right and interest in the solution of this problem which she has never forfeited.

Let us crystallize the sentiment which will no doubt influence British policy and succeed in establishing a Jewish Homeland.

Representative Lane also delivered a speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives on March 28, 1944. This address was made before the Chelsea (Mass.) Zionist Emergency Council. The Palestine Resolution. The Palestine visas expiration date postponed. The Balfour Declaration endorsed by over 50 nations, by Congress Resolution, and by every American President since Wilson. Britain given the Mandate by the League of Nations. The dictators aroused the Arabs, followed by Chamberlain's appeasement policy, which broke the pledge to the Jews. The British White Paper. President Roosevelt's statement that our Government never gave its approval to it. White Paper condemned by British leaders including Winston Churchill. Intended to appease the Arabs at Jews' sacrifice. The Arabs did nothing, or were against the Allies; the Jews contributed much to the war effort. Jews are patient, waiting for their Homeland. Their historic right to nationhood and to Palestine. Their great and varied recent achievements there. The progressive Palestine labor movement. Jews are liberals and peace-loving. Jews are needed as a Nation today. The Axis will leave its residue of bigotry after the war. Jewish homelessness must be remedied by giving them a Home. Jewish sacrifices must win them sanctuary. Anti-Semitism, based on ancient lies, cannot be remedied overnight. Jews as a scapegoat, even in America. Some Jews oppose Zionism for fear of being accused of less Americanism. America, except its bigots, thinks otherwise. It is for Zionism. Jews consistently sought cooperation with the Arabs. King Feisal welcomed the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Jewish efforts raised the Arab living standard, which was resented by the Effendi landlords who instigated violence, while selling land to the Jews. The Jews always provided other, often better, land for the poor Arabs. The Arab peasants refused to join in the uprisings, which were later instigated by paid

terrorists of the Fascists. Then came the White Paper. Jewish pioneers came to Palestine, not as conquerors, but as doers of God's will. The Hebrew University. How can England reconcile her policy in Palestine with the principles of the Atlantic Charter? Great Britain is only Palestine's guardian responsible to the League of Nations and the United States. The White Paper was not legalized by international authority. At the peace table England will not have the exclusive decision over the matter. Churchill's criticism of the White Paper and his concern over American opinion and reaction indicates that our protests will count much in the solution of the problem, just as it did in the Irish question. Arab Fascists have no case. Arab lands are 100 times the size of Palestine. History proves successful co-operation of Arabs and Jews. The peace will provide England with security to abandon her Palestine appeasement policy. No lands other than Palestine will solve the Jewish Problem; it is calling them to return. The Christian world conscience will then, for the first time, be at ease, for an ancient wrong will have been righted. By their Palestine accomplishments the Jews proved their capacity for self-government. America never relinquished its right in the Palestine Problem. Jewish martyrdom will be vindicated.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to insert the following address I made on March 22, 1944, at a mass meeting of the Chelsea Zionist Emergency Council against the British White Paper of 1939, held in the Chelsea high school auditorium, Chelsea, Mass.:

The resolutions now pending before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Congress of the United States provide: "That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

As a result of the action initiated at the Bermuda conference of April 1943, the expiration date of March 31, 1944, was indefi-

nately postponed by the British Parliament to enable the authorized remainder, approximately 30,000 Jews in number to enter Palestine whenever they should succeed in reaching that haven.

The new British policy, when formulated, must not be a repetition of the White Paper of 1939.

The Balfour Declaration of November 1917 publicly recognized the right of the Jews to have a sovereign homeland. Over 50 nations endorsed these terms and they were unanimously approved by the Lodge-Fish resolution, passed by the Congress in 1922. Every American President since then has consistently supported this stand.

Under a mandate from the League of Nations, Britain was appointed guardian over Palestine, to regulate it until such time as the Jews would be in a position to administer their own affairs. But Palestine is a vital link in the communications of the British Empire. As the dictators grew in power, they seized upon Palestine as a fertile field for their propaganda and the Arabs were stirred to revolt. Then came the days of Chamberlain and the fatal policy of appeasement. Loath to antagonize the Mohammedan world, England compromised, and in doing so failed in its pledges to the Jewish people.

In 1939 the British issued the White Paper, which provided for (1) total stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 1944; (2) rigorous restrictions on land purchased by Jews; (3) the ultimate establishment of an independent Palestine state in which Jews should constitute not more than one-third of the population. And Jews the world over were dismayed.

As of March 9, 1944, President Roosevelt stated that "the American Government has never given its approval to the British White Paper of 1939."

In 1939 Mr. Winston Churchill and others now leaders in the British Government condemned the White Paper as a "breach and a repudiation of Britain's pledges" and predicted that it could not endure.

Plainly this White Paper was an attempt to appease the Arabs at the sacrifice of the Jews, but it failed. In Britain's darkest hour the Arabs lifted not one finger in her defense. When Rommel, the "desert fox," was knocking at the doors of Alexandria the Fascist-minded Arabs prayed for Britain's defeat. Even today the former Prime Minister of Iraq and a prominent member of the Egyptian royal family are in Berlin doing propaganda work for the Nazis. But what were the Jews doing in this crisis? They were the only group in the Middle East loyal to the democratic cause. They begged for the opportunity to raise an army

of their own to fight by Britain's side, but she refused. In spite of this, 30,000 Palestinian Jews are serving in the British Army, and today more than a million Jewish men and women are serving in the armed forces of the United Nations.

The Jews have been trained in the school of adversity. They are patient and persevering. The spirit of Zionism, which stands for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, will not be denied. For the last 2,000 years at Passover you have said, "Next year in Jerusalem." Because the currents of Jewish culture run deep and you have never betrayed your heritage.

After four centuries of slavery in Egypt, the Hebrews, under Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, established an independent national existence in Palestine. They conquered it in 1200 B. C. and maintained it for 1,300 years. It grew and prospered under the reigns of Saul and David and Solomon.

But, as the cross-roads of three continents, it had to face barbarian aggression from all sides. Before it finally succumbed to the crushing legions of Rome, it gave to the world the father of all religious faiths—the Bible.

That was a long time ago, before the great nations of today were born. And the point for all men to see and remember is that the Jews gave their greatest contributions to civilization when they were a nation.

Yet there are those today who say the Jews have no right to nationhood, which is a complete and deliberate falsification of history.

For many centuries now, Palestine has been a land of rock and marshland and sand dunes, that is, until the end of the last war when the Jews, filled with the promise of the Balfour Declaration, started back to their homeland. There, during the past 25 years we have witnessed one of the miracles of modern times. One of the lies we used to hear was that the Jew never worked with his hands. Yet out of the sweat of his brow, he lovingly tilled the soil; he built beautiful homes and factories and cities; he set up libraries and hospitals and universities.

Sand and marsh were transformed into fertile farmlands. The death rate became the lowest in the East. Even the Arabs came to Palestine because they found that they fared better under tolerant and progressive Jewish society than they did under the sluggish rule of their native chieftains. Palestine, an impoverished country, has come to life. In less than 25 years an astounding development has taken place on the barren coast of the Mediterranean. The all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv was created, a community of 150,000 inhabitants which is one of the most modern

in the world. All this was done, not by capital—but by Jewish labor. Furthermore, it was accomplished during a period when the world was suffering from an economic depression.

There is no compulsion about the communal settlements in Palestine, nor any State control (as in Russia). The farms are run by mutual agreement among their members and communal organization of the settlement's economic life does not interfere with the freedom of the individual or of the family. The labor movement in Palestine seeks to unite all workers in town and country who live by labor, without exploiting the labor of others. The Labor Party is so strong in Palestine that, if ever a Jewish state is set up, it will be a labor state because they will have built it by faith and toil.

To build the Kingdom of God, the Jews must not be dissipated among other nations, always as ineffective minorities. As the prophets preached, they must have their own nation, there to work and develop the ideal social order, as a model and example from which other nations may learn.

The suffering, shame, and persecution of the centuries must not condemn the Jews to an unending mission of martyrdom. As a liberal and peace-loving people they are needed today, needed as a nation in a world which has lost sight of the ancient virtues.

The Fascist terror, which has brought to the Jews of our time the most cruel persecution in history, will be exterminated. But what of the residue? What of the youth of Axis countries, who have been taught only to hate the Jews? What of the people who have taken over Jewish homes, businesses, and professions? All the sincere and humanitarian efforts of the Allies to remedy these abuses will not fully succeed. It will take many years to clean up the insidious poisons which Hitler will leave after him. In the meantime, what will become of the homeless and uprooted Jews? How can they return to countries which will have their own urgent economic problems? How will these disinherited Jews find a livelihood and recover their moral dignity? Jewish homelessness must be remedied by giving them a home. Only in this way will the fires of anti-Semitism, those fires that are fanned by agitators who are seeking ruthless power, be finally extinguished.

The Jewish people have the tragic yet proud distinction of being the first people to be attacked by the Fascist barbarians. Sacrifice is not a new experience in Jewish life, yet in the present crisis they have given up 3,000,000 of their lives because they would not lose faith in human decency.

Surely, if this great struggle in which so many Jewish men have given their lives, is to have meaning and direction, it must win sanctuary for the Jews. And in doing so, let us face the facts. There is racial and religious prejudice against the Jew. It rests on ancient and deep-seated lies. It cannot be remedied overnight. When social misery cannot be explained unscrupulous leaders seeking a scapegoat, blame the Jews. This is an old, old trick and we had hoped that most people would see through it by this time. But human intelligence is slow in developing and many misguided people still want to believe this. The scourge of Hitler grew to power on this emotional lie. Even in our own country we have seen shameful instances of people who direct attention away from their own failings—by blaming the Jew.

The result of this has been that some Jews have leaned backward, fearing to come out openly for the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. They have feared that some people might accuse them of putting their interest in Judaism ahead of their interest in Americanism. True, the bigots will make this charge, but the great majority of Americans are in sympathy with the Zionist program. They want to see you work for the building in Palestine of a truly Hebraic civilization, with a different basis than ruthless competition and greed. They want to see what you can do, by example, to help a sick world. They admire the fact that you are not asking for charity, but simply for land your persecuted brethren can call their own and on which they can work out their human destiny as free men.

Jewish policy has consistently sought a basis of mutual cooperation with the Arabs. This was reflected in the fact that King Feisal, the chief spokesman of the Arabs at the peace conference, welcomed the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Jews and Arabs are both Semitic peoples. There is no reason why they should not get along together. As a matter of fact, the Arabs themselves showed very little interest in Palestine until the Jews, by their labors, brought such improvement to the country. The average Arab was glad to see this initiative because it raised his own standard of living. However, the effendi class of Arab landlords, feudal and dictatorial in character, resented the change. They saw their privileged position challenged. Poverty-stricken Arab peasant, working side by side with Jewish labor, were building a prosperous industrial and agricultural community. Such fraternization must be prevented at all costs. And so false issues had to be invented to mislead the ignorant Arab population. The cry was raised: "The Jew is

robbing you of your land." Once more the country was swept by organized violence and destruction. Meanwhile the Arab landlords secretly kept on selling land to the Jews, so that if the wrath of the masses could have had any substance it should have been leveled at their own false leaders who were inciting them to riot against the Jews. The Jews did buy land, but they were careful to compensate the poor Arabs they found on the land of the effendis by buying them land elsewhere. This was often better land, which they could own outright, without having to pay four-fifths of the income from the land to grasping owners as they did under the old system.

But the world was told that this was a spontaneous explosion of Arab nationalist sentiment. Still the Arab peasant refused to join in the uprising. Finally, paid terrorists and gangsters had to be imported to keep up the lie of a revolt. Mussolini stepped in. Quantities of German arms and ammunition were smuggled in. Bands in the pay of the Fuehrer and the Duce kept up the agitation. Violence interrupted the creative work of Jewish national enterprise. Then came the White Paper which restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine and prevented their legitimate purchase of the land. British imperial policy forestalled the natural growth of a Jewish majority. Kept as a minority, they would not be able to claim the right of self-government.

The Jewish pioneers had come to make the land of Israel not only a refuge for the persecuted of their own race, but a happier place for the poor and disease-ridden Arabs as well. They came, not as military conquerors, but as doers of the will of God. The first building on Zion's hill was not a fort, but a school of learning, the Hebrew University. Zionism's object was to bring to a close Israel's 2,000 years of exile, to establish a haven where Jews might settle down to build "the world to come"; a world wherein not one man shall plow and another reap, not one man build and another inhabit, and not one man cause hurt or damage to another man.

What is England's policy toward Palestine going to be, in the light of the Atlantic Charter and the freedoms for which she has so gloriously fought in this war against tyranny? That is the paradox. The concept of empire and the concept of individual liberty. How can she reconcile them? Is she going to maintain the fiction that Jew and Arab cannot get along together and that, therefore, she must maintain supervision over them? Her concern for the stability of the Mohammedan world as it affected Britain's imperial security resulted in the White Paper. That

statement of colonial policy gave in to Arab demands and curtailed Jewish agricultural and industrial expansion in Palestine.

If that country were a colony, we might understand Britain's position. In reality it is a guardianship, for which Britain is responsible to the League of Nations and to the United States. This White Paper was never approved by other nations and has yet to be legalized by an international authority. The exigencies of war alone support it. At the peace table it will not be exclusively for Britain to decide the ultimate fate of Palestine. The United States also has a right and interest in the solution of this problem which she has never forfeited.

Opposing the White Paper, Winston Churchill said in a speech before the House of Commons in May of 1939:

"The triumphant Arabs have rejected it. They are not going to put up with it. The despairing Jews will resist it. What will the world think about it? What will our friends say? What will be the opinion of the United States of America? Shall we not lose more—and this is a question to be considered maturely—in the growing support and sympathy of the United States than we shall gain in local administrative convenience, if gain at all we do?"

As Churchill indicated, American public opinion will have much to do with the honorable solution of this problem. In this case I am reminded of the experience of the Irish people. They are small in number. They have worked courageously and persistently for their independence. England did not have to grant it. She did, however, when she saw that the great weight of public opinion in America was in favor of it. England needs America, as we need England. We, who were so tragically unprepared, will never forget the perilous days of 1940-41, when England alone stood up against the ruthless might of fascism. Without England, where would we have been today? And without us—and Russia—where would England have been?

Tonight, in typical American fashion, you are helping to crystallize the sentiment which will inevitably influence British policy and succeed in establishing a Jewish homeland.

Arab Fascists have no case because Arab lands are 100 times the size of Palestine. Arab peasants and workers who wish to cooperate with Jews in the homeland will be welcome. The practice of Arab-Jewish collaboration in labor unions was eminently successful until the Fascists intervened. History has proved that these two people, if left alone, can work together in peace and harmony. For it was the successful cooperation of these two Semitic groups under the caliphs of Bagdad and in Spain that pro-

duced one of the nourishing developments of western civilization.

As for England, I feel certain that the peace will provide her with a security that will free her from the need of appeasement in Palestine. Then, her pledge, freely given to the whole world, will be kept, and the Promised Land will be opened to the tired and homeless people of Israel.

Statesmen, seeking to solve this ancient problem have suggested the jungles of Guiana, the barren tundras of Alaska, the forbidding shores of Ceylon and Madagascar * * * but none of these will do. The birthright of the Jew is Palestine. There the framework and organization have been set up by the Jews themselves. The economic, social, cultural, and religious fabric are there, set up by the pioneers. Large areas of land are available for settlement. Eretz Yisrael is calling and the day is not far distant when they * * * her wandering children, will return. Gone will be the ghettos and the badge of shame. And gone will be the tyrants who sought to crush the dignity of man in the person of the Jew. The conscience of the Christian world will, for the first time, be at ease. For an ancient wrong will have been righted.

By what the Jews have accomplished in Palestine they have proved their capacity for self-government. That is exhibit A.

Exhibit B is the consistent policy of the American Government. We have never given up the right to a voice in the disposition of Palestine to which, as an associated power, we are entitled. And the moral influence of America will be even greater when this present crisis is over.

Exhibit C. This meeting of Americans who are determined that their suffering brethren, driven from pillar to post, shall at last find refuge in the country of their origin * * * as was promised.

The sacrifice of your martyrs, down through the suffering centuries will be vindicated. Humanity will be redeemed and the words of Isaiah will come true:

"The ransomed of the Lord shall return
And come with singing unto Zion."

HON. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Representative from Connecticut

As a well fed person can never truly understand the sensation of starvation, so it is impossible for most of us well-established citizens to grasp the plight of a people

who have neither a roof over their heads nor even a homeland they can call their own.

There is a land which historically belongs to the Jews but was lost to the military power of more aggressive nations. Now the Jews are scattered all over the world, their families broken by the war, their spirits crushed by Nazi brutality.

Alone they do not have the strength to regain what is rightfully theirs. They must have the active help of those who, even though they have never experienced homelessness, can at least understand, from the lesson of their forefathers, the commendable desire for independence and freedom under a national flag.

It is hoped that this year, which begins so darkly for the Jews, will end with the first tangible hope that these unfortunate people have known for centuries. It is to be hoped that the splendid example of fortitude which the Jews have set in this last decade of incredible suffering will win them—not just sympathizers but supporters—men who will stand at their side in the struggle to attain that one thing so cherished by all mankind—a home.

A speech by Representative Luce, delivered at the Hotel Commodore, New York, was included under leave to extend his remarks, by Representative Arthur G. Klein in the Congressional Record of April 26, 1944. The Balfour Declaration pledged the British Government to establish a Jewish National Home. Therefore, Palestine was Mandated to Great Britain. The Congress Resolution of 1922. The Anglo-American Convention, of 1924, included the entire Mandate, the terms of which could not be modified without America's consent. Palestine was rebuilt by the Jews, raised the living standards of the Arabs, gave sanctuary to the refugees. Then came Munich. By promulgating the White Paper England betrayed the Jews by appeasing the Arabs. Mr. Churchill attacked the White Paper vigorously in the House of Commons; called it "moral bankruptcy," "ignominious," "another Munich," and warned of American opinion.

Before we protested war came. Now that the Middle East is no longer in danger, there is no need for Arab appeasement. Unless our Government acts, we will be endorsing the Munich Spirit. Believes Churchill still supports the Balfour Declaration, but his hands are tied by appeasement forces who argue that if America does not protest its treaty rights, England should not take the entire onus of Arab unpopularity. If we insist England would yield. The Palestine Resolutions were killed by the Administration through the secret advice of General Marshall and the State Department. Otherwise the Resolutions would have passed overwhelmingly. The White Paper would be dead. The Administration gave promises, took no action. The persecuted Jews cannot live on promises. Four alternatives for refugee Jews: (1) Admit them to Palestine, which is sensible, legal and possible. (2) Find a Homeland elsewhere ultimately, which is no solution now. (3) Lower the American and English immigration bars, which is now impossible. (4) Let the Jews die. And We Are Letting Them Die. We are thuswise like Hitler. Does not believe in the argument of post-war fear of the Arab world. Saw much Arab-Jewish cooperation. Vigorous, sincere statesmanship would bring an amicable accord. In any event, our Government should not permit its treaties to be dishonored. If we cannot keep peace in little Palestine how can we keep the peace in the world? America will never be the greatest world country if we default in our treaties, as we do in the White Paper. Stop pleading with the foreign Governments. Plead with our own President and Secretary of State for action, not promises. Then we will accomplish (1) Restoration of America's honored pledges and (2) The salvation of many Jewish lives.

In London on November 2, 1917, Mr. Balfour, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued what has since come to be known as the Balfour Declaration. This pledged the British Government to the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people. For this reason above all Palestine was mandated to the British at the end of World War No. 1.

In 1922 the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution favoring the establishment of this national home.

Two years later, in 1924, after an American-British convention on the subject of Palestine, President Calvin Coolidge

issued a proclamation with respect to the rights of our nationals in British mandated Palestine. The ratification of that proclamation was advised by the United States Senate and then signed by the President and Mr. Austin Chamberlin the following year. Article 2 of the proclamation stated that "the mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Article 5 squarely placed the responsibility on the British mandatory for "seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to or in any way placed under the control of any foreign power." Article 6 pledged the mandatory to facilitate immigration and settlements. Article 27 said: "The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate." Whereupon to this proclamation was added in treaty form article 7: "Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

It is important for Americans to realize, since many apparently do not, that under Republican administrations in time past our Congress has gone overwhelmingly on the record in favor of the purpose for which the mandate was primarily created, a national homeland for the Jews; that our Government signed a treaty with the British that no modification of the terms of this mandatory could ever be effected without the consent of the League or the United States, and that this consent has never been given.

But all this was 20 years ago. Time marched on. The Jews came to Palestine in many numbers. Their capital, industry, diligence, sweat and brains, raised the living standards of themselves and the Arabs unbelievably. Their great dream, the dream of Israel was coming true. They made the very desert bloom. And then, as Hitler came into power, Palestine became not only a home, but a blessed sanctuary for the driven and persecuted German Jews. And then came Munich, the climax of the terrible and bitter, and, in the end futile, drama of British appeasement of the Nazis. Gradually the logic of strong Nazi policy conspired with the logic of weak British policy to betray not only the Jews of Germany but the Jews of Palestine. This betrayal was embodied in the British "White Paper" promulgated in May 1939, which stopped at the end of 5 years any further Jewish immigration into Palestine. In Great Britain's agonizing search for allies anywhere, and everywhere, Chamberlain's government, but another Chamberlain—Neville—sought to appease the

rising nationalistic spirit of the Palestinian Arabs. The Balfour Declaration became another famous "scrap of paper." And Britain's unilateral action, illegal because it was taken without the consent of the League of Nations, or recognized by the United States of America, the 1924 treaty with our own Government became a scrap of paper, too. Though few Americans realized at the time that the White Paper was not only an illegal but an immoral document, one great Britisher realized it fully.

Let me read you some quotes from Mr. Winston Churchill, then a simple Member of Parliament. On the floor of Commons, 5 years ago this May, he said this about the White Paper:

"I cannot understand why this course has been taken. I search around for the answer. Is our condition so parlous and our state so poor that we must, in our weakness, make this sacrifice of our declared purpose? I must say that I have not taken such a low view of the strength of the British Empire, or of the very many powerful countries who desire to walk in association with us; but if the Government, with their superior knowledge of the deficiencies in our armaments, really feels that we are too weak to carry out our obligations and wish to file a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy, that is an argument which, however, ignominious, should certainly weigh with the House in these dangerous times. But is it true? I do not believe it is true. I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hand 20 years ago in Palestine is beyond our strength, or that faithful perseverance will not, in the end, bring that task through to a glorious success. I am sure of this, that to cast the Balfour plan aside and show yourselves infirm of will and unable to pursue a long, clear, and considered purpose, bending and twisting under the crush and pressure of events—I am sure that that is going to do us a most serious and grave injury at a time like this. What will be the opinion of the United States of America? Shall we not lose more—and this is a question to be considered maturely—in the growing support and sympathy of the United States than we shall gain in local administrative convenience, if gain at all indeed we do? What will our potential enemies think? What will those who have been stirring up these Arab agitators think? Will they not be encouraged by our confession of recoil? Will they not be tempted to say: 'They're on the run again. This is another Munich'."

It was another Munich, of course, as everyone now knows. But before American public opinion had a chance to protest this violation of our treaty and this betrayal of the Balfour plan,

war came. And while England stood heroically alone against the Nazis, Americans could not, dared not, deny Great Britain whatever help or comfort she may have thought she derived from the Arab world through her action on the White Paper. Moreover, then we were implicated too deeply ourselves in the appeasement of Nazi Germany.

But now 5 years have passed. As one of the mighty United Nations, we stand fighting side by side with our British Allies. Today, the ultimate defeat of the Axis is in sight. Today, the Middle East is no longer in vital danger. Today, there is no physical need, as there never were moral grounds, for appeasing the Arabs, if indeed they demand appeasement, which many wise men deny. And yet the infamous, cynical, illegal White Paper, born of long forgotten British weakness and terror, went into effect on April 1 of this year. April Fool's Day. What an appropriate date that must have seemed to the persecuted European Jews. How the Nazis must have rocked with glee at this bloody April Fool's joke which democracy and Christianity itself had played on the Jews.

Today, unless our Government acts to expunge this illegal act from the record, to redeem the honor of our treaty, we Americans will be endorsing the very spirit of Munich anew.

I say unless our Government acts. Now, I shall be quite frank with you. It is the only way I know how to help. Mr. Churchill was, and I believe still is, a loyal supporter of the Balfour Declaration and of the treaty which Calvin Coolidge signed putting the American Government behind the purposes of that declaration. All who know Mr. Churchill are certain of this. But the same forces, the very same sinister forces of appeasement in the British Foreign Office which promulgated the White Paper, tie his hands now. How do they tie them? They simply argue that action is up to the United States of America. If the American Government, which under its 1924 treaty has every right to protest the White Paper, does not protest it, they say, with some reason, why should they take the entire onus of an action unpopular with the Arab world? But if our American Government insists on Britain upholding her treaty with us, and a return to our joint pre-Munich agreements on Palestine, in honor and under law, they will have to give way.

Now, this Seventy-eighth Congress tried to advise our administration that this was precisely what it wanted our Government to do. Congress introduced the Wagner-Taft resolution in the Senate and the Wright-Compton resolution in the House early this year to demonstrate to Britain and before the

world that its will was that the White Paper should be stricken from history's record. But those resolutions were killed. How? By the urgent, off-the-record advice of General Marshall and the State Department at secret hearings. Anyone who knows the inside story of what happened on the Hill—and I followed it quite closely, as many did—knows that in this question our President, while Commander in Chief, took the advice of his chief of staff; our President, while sole designer and arbiter of our day-to-day foreign policy, took the advice of his State Department against any action now. In short, our administration gave the Palestine resolutions no support in the House. Had it done so, those resolutions would have been overwhelmingly passed, and the British White Paper would be dead now. If ever there was a time for constructive and positive statecraft in the active solution of a problem, this was it. To be sure, although there was no action, our administration did give the Jews of the world some very inspiring and, I hope, comforting words—the promise of justice for the cause of Zionism—at some future time. The promise to bring to the block or the gibbet their Axis persecutors—at some future time. Now Zionists can live on promises. They have had thousands of years of doing so. But will promises, however happy, keep trapped and persecuted Jews in the Balkans and elsewhere in Europe alive? Will the knowledge that the Nazis are to be punished for their crimes keep life in the Jews who are dying in countless numbers under their heel today? You know they will not. It is all very well to look into the future through rose-colored glasses. But not, as Sam Grafton says, when that rosy hue is really imparted by the blood of other men. The Jews of Europe were promised one small home. They are inheriting a million yawning, nameless graves.

For my part, I know that the whole question of Zionism, as an intellectual one, has long been debatable. Jews themselves continue to debate it, even while Jewish blood stains the blue Mediterranean red. But there is no debate and can be no debate about saving people's lives now and today. When all the fine rhetoric is over, there are only four things that can be done about the refugee Jews of Europe.

1. Admit them into Palestine as we and the British had agreed to do before the White Paper made mock of our "long, clear, and considered purpose." I think that this is the proper, the sensible, the legal, and the entirely possible thing to do.

2. Find another homeland in someone else's territory for them. Such a special search, fraught with a variety of economic, na-

tionalistic, and emotional considerations, awaits the end of the war and international conferences on the subject. It is no solution to either the Palestine question or the refugee question now.

3. Let down the bars of immigration for them here and in Great Britain. This would require a revision of our own immigration laws, which I do not need to tell you is a political impossibility at this time.

4. Let the Jews die.

When all the talk is done—or perhaps because all the talk is never done—we are letting them die. To this extent we are as bad as Hitler. I do not see how I can put it any more plainly than that.

I am told very often by my friends on the Hill that the only conclusive argument for the White Paper—but the one they all accept, with streaming eyes—is that the Arabs “may make trouble” if we do not assent to it. In short, that now and in the post-war era, there will be unrest in the Arab world, if we return to our pledged word and signed deeds on the Balfour Declaration. As one who has been in that part of the world, I don’t believe it. I have seen far too many evidences of friendly Arab cooperation with the growing Jewish homeland in Palestine. And I believe that vigorous, sincere statesmanship could shortly bring the Arabs into amicable accord on the question of Palestine. But suppose it is true? Is this a sufficient reason for Americans to allow their own treaties to be dishonored? And I ask you, What does our Government intend to have an international police force for, a four-power treaty for, a world organization, court, or league for, if not precisely to enforce the sanctity of our treaties and keep justice and peace in troubled parts of the world? If the United Nations cannot keep peace in little Palestine with the vast force we already have there, and the “instrumentalities for keeping the peace” we intend to create in the post-war world, then where in God’s name—and I say in God’s name—shall we keep the peace in this world?

I think not only of our Palestine treaty with Great Britain, now dead in letter, but I think of the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow agreements, and yes, if you will, of the “four freedoms”—though one freedom, liberty, will do, I suspect, for the Palestine Jews. And I repeat for Americans and to America, Winston Churchill’s ringing 5-year-old words: “Is our condition so parlous and our state so poor that we must in our weakness make this sacrifice of our declared purposes? Are we too weak to carry out our obligations? Do we wish to file a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy?” What, so soon?

Zionist friends, friends of a free Palestine, above all friends who simply wish to save innocent human lives, whether they be Jewish or any other nationality, persuade our Government to act. I have sometimes been criticized for saying frankly that I believe our country should be the greatest, the strongest in the world. That it is the strongest today there is no doubt. But we shall never be the greatest if we default, not only in our obligation to stand by the treaties our Government has signed in moral and Christian leadership. This we are doing on the question of the White Paper now.

Can't we have done, we Americans, with pleas to a foreign government, to a British Prime Minister, who is either bound by his own Foreign Office, in which case he cannot act; or now persuaded against you himself, in which case he will not act? Let us make our respectful plea to the two men to whom both he and his Foreign Office must listen respectfully—to our President and our Secretary of State. Causes can never be won abroad which are not first won at home.

Let us make our plea simple; no more rhetorical promises but honest action—action to reinstate the treaty which our Government signed with the British just 20 years ago; action which will give sanctuary and liberty to a people who have suffered too much, too unjustly, and too long.

Then we will have accomplished two things: The restoration of our country's honored pledges and the salvation of many innocent Jewish lives. Then what Max Lerner considers the greatest argument for all men of good will, "the simple and shining truth of humanity," will not be denied. We must not let it be. As Jews and as Christians, as Americans all, let us see to this for the sake of all for which we claim to fight this war. But especially for the sake of our immortal souls.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

Representative from Massachusetts

MAJORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Indeed, if ever there was need for a National Home for the Jewish people, it is now when tens of thousands of helpless men, women and children are trying to escape with their lives from the diabolical massacre at Hitler's foul hands. Their entire hope is centered on Palestine—the land pledged to them as their National Home.

I should like to reiterate the conviction which I have entertained for a long time that the problem of Jewish homelessness can never be solved right unless a place of equality and dignity is granted to the Jewish people through the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

All decent men, regardless of race or creed, are profoundly inspired by the Jewish achievements in their ancient homeland and by the tremendous contributions that Jewish Palestine has made to the cause of the United Nations.

I am persuaded that as soon as the military situation permits, the Palestine Resolution now pending in the United States Congress will be passed overwhelmingly.

Needless to say that I shall always be glad to give my whole-hearted support and cooperation to the cause of the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people—the cause of justice and humanity.

Representative McCormack also delivered the following speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, February 2, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement by me relative to the Palestine resolution:

After the victory of the United Nations which is inevitable and which I hope will come soon, the world will be confronted with a gigantic task of rehabilitation for millions of uprooted and homeless human beings. Among these the plight of the Jews who will have survived the Nazi program of extermination, will be indeed tragic. It will be imperative to find a solution for this pressing problem.

Palestine represents the most practical available opportunity for Jews to rebuild their broken lives, and to become self-sustaining and self-respecting human beings. This is so because of the remarkable achievements of the present Jewish community of 600,000 in Palestine, which during the last quarter of a century has laid a magnificent and solid foundation for the

Jewish Homeland as the result of the opportunity afforded it by the nations of the world, including the United States, after the last war.

This resolution expresses the policy of our country in the light of the stern realities of the present hour, and voices the desire of the American people that the Jews who were the first victims of Nazi terror shall be given the chance to enter their national homeland, to settle and work there on farm and in factory and to join with those Jews who have preceded them to continue to build a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

All decent men will wish them well and all Americans of good will will join their voices to this manifestation of encouragement and hope.

Representative McCormack also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following points: The Palestine Resolution clarifies the historic American policy established by the Congress Resolution in 1922. President Wilson approved the Balfour Declaration. It was intended, through Jewish immigration into Palestine, to eventuate into a Jewish Commonwealth, as shown by Churchill's statement in 1920. The Massachusetts Resolution. Palestine was set aside as the Jewish Home; it is the only land to invite them. Colonial Secretary MacDonald's statement about the remarkable Jewish accomplishments in Palestine. It is imperative that Jewish Homelessness be solved; it challenges Christian justice. Open the Palestine doors; let the Jews know that when they constitute a majority there it shall become a Jewish Commonwealth. Congress should so go on record. The Resolution will express the feelings of the Committee and of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, the resolution before this committee, which I support, is a clarification of the historic American policy established by the joint resolution of the Sixty-seventh Congress, adopted in 1922.

In fact, before the Balfour Declaration was accepted by the Allied and Associated Powers in the First World War, the approval of the United States was sought and secured.

President Woodrow Wilson, on March 3, 1919, speaking of the Balfour Declaration, said, and I quote:

I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth.

A study of the record discloses that it was intended in due time when the Jewish people shall attain a majority in Palestine they shall reconstitute their Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. This was the way Mr. Churchill himself, the then British Secretary of State for War, hailed the Balfour Declaration when on February 8, 1920, Mr. Churchill said:

If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

It may be worthy of mention that in the resolution adopted by the legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in favor of the Jewish National Home in Palestine on the 13th day of February 1919, it is declared that—

* * * There should be established such political, administrative, economic conditions in Palestine as will assure the development of Palestine into a Jewish commonwealth.

I am persuaded that the original intention of the Balfour Declaration was to afford to the Jews the opportunity to immigrate into Palestine and to develop that country. It was contemplated that this will in due time lead to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth.

In the face of the terrible tragedy of the Jewish homelessness in Europe today and which will follow the inevitable victorious conclusion of the war by the United Nations, it is appropriate to point to Palestine as the one country which was publicly and legally set apart as the Jewish national home for this dark hour, in order that it might receive and absorb a large number of these victims of Nazi persecution.

I will not undertake to describe the plight of the Jewish people in Europe. Language is inadequate for that purpose except to say that they have been driven about like the last dying leaves before the chill winds of winter.

Where shall they go?

There is nothing on the European horizon to which they may look with hope. Where is the country which is extending an invitation to the Jews to come, except Palestine?

It is the Jewish pioneers themselves with the help of American Jewry and other Jewries of the world who rebuilt the land of their forefathers, reclaimed its soil, and made it a decent place for all the inhabitants to live in, without injury to anyone.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald as the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in a statement in the House of Commons on February 24, 1938, said:

* * * Their (the Jews') achievement has been remarkable. They have turned sand dunes into orange groves. They have pushed ever farther into waste land the frontiers of cultivation and settlement. They have created a new city, housing today 140,000 souls, where before there was only bare seashore. There is no knowledge where their achievement might end if Palestine were empty of all other populations and could be handed over to them in full ownership. The Jews are in Palestine not on sufferance but by right, and today, under the lash of persecution in central Europe, their eagerness to return to their own homeland is multiplied a hundred times. The tragedy of a people

who have no country has never been so deep as it is in this week. The sympathy of our own countrymen, their anxiety to do everything they can to help the persecuted Jews has never been so firm as it is today. * * *

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, this resolution is expressive not only of the historic American policy with reference to Palestine, but it is in line with the highest ideals of humanity and the basic principles for which this war is being fought.

If, as we hope and expect, that order shall be established in this world out of the present chaos, it is indeed imperative that the problem of Jewish homelessness should be solved in the interest of world order and of justice, which we believe will eventually come into being.

We cannot close our eyes from the point of view of the enlightened self-interest of the non-Jewish world to the cruel spectacle of 2,000,000 Jews roaming over Europe in search for a home. It is a challenge to all kinds of justice, particularly Christian justice.

We can do no less than to declare our views in favor of free entry of Jews into their National Home and full freedom of opportunity for Jewish colonization and re-settlement in Palestine.

It is important for the Jewish people to know that in the course of time when they shall constitute a majority in Palestine then, with the sanction of the nations of the world, Palestine shall become a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

I know that every decent-minded person, without regard to race, color, or creed, has a deep feeling not only of sympathy, but far beyond sympathy for the unfortunate plight of all persecuted peoples, of peoples who have been maltreated by the Nazi horde, and particularly those of the Jewish faith who have undergone vicious persecution in the past several years. It is the cry of humanity

that I have referred to, the cry of justice, and particularly a challenge to Christian justice that this problem be met. They are human beings just like you and I. They have their hopes and their aspirations. They have their little families, the men have their wives, and the wives have their husbands, and they have their children as God has blessed them. They are human beings seeking a home, some place where they can live without fear of future persecution.

The least that the Congress and the House of Representatives can do is to go on record in the direction which shows that they think along not only constructive but human lines. I think this resolution is the foundation for action on our part which will be an adequate expression of the feelings of the members of this committee and of the House of Representatives.

HON. LOUIS E. MILLER

Representative from Missouri

As but one humble Member in the great Congress of the United States, I plead that the doors of Palestine should not be closed against an innocent and injured people. Our commitments and our sacred honor as a Nation are at stake. The conscience of the world cries out to America for action—yes, immediate action—lest it be too late. Decency and justice demand the establishment of a National Home for those of the Jewish race who desire it.

Representative Miller also delivered a speech in the House of Representatives, March 30, 1944. The Balfour Declaration. Congress Resolution of 1922. The Anglo-American Convention. Its impelling reasons were the promised Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Mandate was thus intended. England did not fulfill its mandatory obligations; it repudiated them. It played power

politics. It arrayed the Jews and Arabs against one another in its shifting policy. Our State Department indicated no interest in the Jewish National Home. It has not protested against the White Paper. Our lack of policy in Palestine is partly responsible for the plight of the Jews in Europe. The Wright-Compton Resolution is a reaffirmation of the previous Congress views intended to express America's will to keep its pledge and to formulate an American policy. Pleads for open Palestine doors, a Jewish National Home for those who desire it, since the reasons become more compelling. The present peril demands the brushing aside of all opposition immediately lest it be too late.

On November 2, 1917, a star of hope was planted in the long night of despair for the Jewish people. It was announced to the world through what has become known as the Balfour Declaration, the preparation of which was participated in by the President of the United States, that henceforth the British Government viewed with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and that it would use its best efforts to facilitate the achievement of this object.

In furtherance of this announced policy, the Congress of this country unanimously adopted a resolution in 1922 approving the Balfour Declaration. Then in 1925 the American Government gave further recognition to the proposal to establish a national home for Jews in Palestine by approving the granting of a mandate to England, and thereupon entered into a convention with Great Britain respecting the control of Palestine.

The convention was not ambiguous at that time. It was crystal clear to the signatories to it that the impelling reasons for this deed of power to Great Britain over Palestine and its people was the promised establishment of a national home for those of the Jewish race who chose to return to the land of their fathers.

In the preamble of the mandate there was recited these

significant words, "The historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." Obviously this was a reaffirmation of the Balfour Declaration and seemed upon the face of things to breathe a breath of expectancy into the terms of the mandate.

Likewise, this gave purpose and meaning to the joint resolution of the Congress. However, history does not confirm a definite intent on the part of the mandatory power to carry out the obligations so fully expressed and so freely assumed. The fiduciary position of England seems to have drifted into a double and dubious role—one to the Jewish people, another to the Arabs.

Imperial interests in Moslem lands have frequently altered the announced purposes of nations. The mandatory power seems to have followed a shifting policy; first, for the Jews against the Arabs, and then the Arabs against the Jews. In some mysterious manner, the fate of these people has been subject to the changing fortunes of expediency and power politics, until at last there is left little semblance of the mandate entrusted with the League of Nations.

An impartial appraisal of the white papers issued from 1922 to 1939 leads almost to the realization that the purposes of the mandate have been repudiated.

In the intervening years there has been no clear-cut or well-defined American policy regarding Palestine. With the rise of Hitler to power and the outbreak of war in 1939, the attitude of this Nation has not been disclosed. What was once a well-defined national course has now settled into an occasional expression of sympathy for the plight of the Jewish people.

The record of our State Department in recent years indicates a lack of interest in and responsibility for the

establishment of the Jewish national home. Although it has been evident to everyone that the responsibilities of the trust created by the mandate have not been met and discharged by England, nevertheless this Nation has not uttered one word of public protest. When the white paper appeared in 1939, making a virtual mockery of the mandate and nullifying the obligations of the trust, nothing was said in protest.

As the storms of war began to gather upon the Continent of Europe and there appeared the most urgent need for a haven of refuge, the door of escape was beginning to be closed in the face of an oppressed people.

It is an unpleasant task to examine the conduct of one's own country in respect to the extent to which it may have contributed to the present plight of the entrapped Jewish people in Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The absence of any determined and consistent policy regarding Palestine during the years of its mandate control is no doubt responsible in some measure for the present situation.

The Wright-Compton resolution introduced in the House was intended to reaffirm the views previously expressed by this body in 1922, and to express the will of America that her pledged word be kept to the letter. It was hoped that this resolution might aid in the formulation of an American policy which would clarify the confused condition that has prevailed.

As but one humble Member in the great Congress of the United States, I plead that the doors of Palestine should be kept open to Jewish refugees. Our commitments and our sacred honor as a Nation are at stake. This cause should enlist the interest and support not only of every Member of this body but of every fair-minded American. Decency and justice demand the establishment of a national home for those of the Jewish race who desire

it. The catalog of crimes committed against these people is known to all and has shocked even the conscience of a war-calloused world. Now, as the specter of more certain abuse and destruction stalks them in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania, the reasons become more compelling to insure at least a tempory refuge from the heel of oppression, starvation, and death.

Considerations have been advanced in opposition to the resolution before the House urging a prompt solution and clarification of the Palestine problem. The peril of the present hour demands that these be brushed aside. The prestige of America and the power of the Presidency are sufficient to insure a prompt response to the protests of our Nation that the doors of Palestine should not be closed against an innocent and injured people. The conscience of the world cries out to America for action—yes, immediate action—lest it be too late.

HON. JOSEPH L. PFEIFER

*Representative from New York**

Time has come to protest against the White Paper. Jewish insecurity and humiliation everywhere. Their own national existence is the only solution. Other nations shirked responsibility, other territories proved a fiasco. Palestine is their rightful Home assigned by the Balfour Declaration. It is small by comparison with the vast Arabian territory. Had supported four million population. Tremendous recent Jewish achievements in Palestine industrially and agriculturally. Its irrigation possibilities. The Arab population was not displaced. It increased, as confirmed by Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald. England's promises of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Their persecution in and after the last and in this war spurred on the Palestine advance and stirred the world toward making this Homeland a

*A speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, February 15, 1944.

reality. Then came the White Paper. Protested to President Roosevelt against its legality, asked it to be rescinded. Churchill's vigorous objections. It is unfair for the democratic world to permit it. Should bow our heads in shame. Congress should unanimously approve the Palestine Resolutions. Prime Minister Chamberlain's promise. Jewish accomplishments in Palestine. Their contributions toward winning the war, their 30,000 volunteers, their sacrifices. Now is Winston Churchill's opportunity to enforce his words with action. Open the doors of Palestine.

Mr. Speaker, it is very evident the time is at hand when we cannot go any further without raising our voice in protest over the continued unwillingness of Great Britain to relax her stringent rule regarding the immigration of Jews to Palestine.

The humiliation and atrocities to which they have been subjected, particularly on the European Continent, surpasses anything that has come to the attention of the civilized world.

Their position is insecure. In the countries where they are not persecuted, they feel a gratitude tempered by fear lest this may not endure. This constant atmosphere of fear is no good for any individual or group of individuals in the free exercise and development of mind and body. Anti-Semitism is always lurking around the corner, a danger not only to the Jews but to the moral and mental balance of their gentile neighbors.

What can we do to relieve this situation? We can either take them into our fold or help to secure for them a place where they may gather and develop into a nation and a country of their own. A national existence of their own seems to be the consensus of opinion. But where? Each nation seems to shirk the responsibility. Several areas have been mentioned but have proven to be a fiasco. Jewish tradition, religious and national, knows only one promised

land, and that is Palestine. It is the rightful home of the Jewish people. This territory which has been assigned for the Jewish national home, through the Balfour declaration to the Jews, on November 2, 1917, is only 10,000 miles square, a very small portion of the vast Arabian territory which is about 1,500,000 square miles.

This is the same Palestine which the Bible has described as a land flowing with milk and honey, and the historians tell us that it supported a population of 4,000,000 in the Roman and Grecian era.

During the centuries that followed, misrule has been so evident that neglect of this holy place soon converted it into a desolated area. Sand dunes replaced vegetation and cities dwindled.

Now, let us see what has been done to this holy land, which is about the size of Belgium or Sicily, since the Jews began their development in 1920. They have not only doubled its population, but through their determination to rebuild the ancient homeland of the Jewish people, they have converted this rapidly disintegrating area into a semi-industrial and agricultural country.

They not only had to acquire land but had to reclaim it, drain it, reforest it, fertilize it, irrigate it, electrify it, and industrialize it with new industries which today number textile, chemical, electrical, building, and clothing. A credit to any nation. Its agricultural population of 800,000 will be trebled in the near future due to irrigation possibilities. Its cities now, which at one time were deserted, are well inhabited and electrified. Tel-Aviv is now a city of 200,000 where only 30 years ago was merely sand dunes, and Haifa rapidly growing into a city of 500,000.

This growth of the Jewish national home and its achievements in many fields commands the admiration of the world and is certainly a source of pride to the Jewish people.

Palestine in general has become a new world. The large increase of Jewish population, which is about 1,500,000 today, has not displaced any of the native population. In fact, we are informed that it has caused an increase in the Arab population. This has been confirmed by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, secretary for the colonies in the Chamberlain government, when he stated in the House of Commons on November 24, 1938:

The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been around the 600,000 figure, instead of over 1,000,000 as at present, at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages, that the Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong.

The assurance by the English Government of a Jewish national home in Palestine, initiated over a quarter of a century ago, was mainly responsible for the country's mighty advance. The persecutions of the minorities during the World War No. 1 was the seed for the development of this home, with the hope that such atrocities would never again occur. But, before and during the present World War, the atrocities became more and more brutal. Millions of Jews were slaughtered. Every attempt was made to stop these atrocities, but to no avail. His Holiness Pope Pius XI, cognizant of these brutalities, interceded on several occasions and offered his services to guarantee safe passage, whenever possible, for the transportation of the oppressed minorities to their homeland in Palestine. But unfortunately this did not materialize. His pleas and the increased atrocities have stirred the entire civilized world to act with greater urgency toward making it a reality. Palestine for the Jews. A homeland of their own.

But what have we accomplished, and how does the situation stand today?

At a time when millions of European Jews have been massacred by the Nazis, we face a possibility of closure of the only door of escape for the 2,000,000 Jews who still survive the tortures and who are imploring the civilized world to provide them with means of escape from the Nazi murderers through the white paper of May 17, 1939, issued by the British Government, which closes Palestine to all Jewish immigration on March 31, 1944, and to which I protested at the time of issuance of this white paper and asked President Franklin D. Roosevelt to do all in his power to have Great Britain rescind that order and to remind His Britannic Majesty of the mandate for Palestine adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922. This treaty specifically stated that any changes must be with our assent.

Mr. Winston Churchill informs us that—

His Majesty's Government have no intentions of repudiating the obligations into which they have entered toward the Jewish people.

And also stated:

The position is that His Majesty's Government are bound by a pledge which is antecedent to the Covenant of the League of Nations * * * and regrets very much that the pledge of the Balfour Declaration, endorsed as it has been by successive Governments, and the conditions under which we obtained the mandate, have both been violated by the Governments' proposals. There is much in this white paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration.

Is it fair then for the democratic world to be standing idly by and permit this white paper to go into effect? I, for one, do not believe so. This pledge of a home for refuge should not be closed to the still wandering persecuted scattered Jews throughout Europe, numbering about

2,000,000, whose eyes are focused on Palestine.

Should the doors of Palestine be closed to them through the action of the white paper, we ought, then, bow our heads in shame, for through this act of closure we would encourage the Nazi's regime to continue their brutalities and exterminate the remaining Jews. It would be a signal for Hitler to continue his atrocities until his aim has been accomplished.

We, as a democratic people, cannot and will not tolerate such brutalities. The Congress of the United States should, and undoubtedly will, approve unanimously any resolution that offers protection of the persecuted minorities.

You all recall the statement of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, 20 years ago, when he said :

A great responsibility will rest upon the Zionists, who, before long, will be proceeding, with joy in their hearts, to the ancient seat of their people. Theirs will be the task to build up a new prosperity and a new civilization in old Palestine, so long neglected and misruled.

Now, let us look over the record of the Jewish people since occupying Palestine. What do we find? We find that the Jewish people have lived up to their responsibility and have made Palestine what it is today. I agree with Prime Minister Churchill, referring to the Chamberlain statement, when he said :

Well, they have answered his call. They have fulfilled his hopes. How can he find it in his heart to strike them this mortal blow?

The Jewish people of Palestine have not only shown interest in their homeland but have done much to aid the Allied cause. The Jewish troops now number over 30,000 volunteers and have contributed much toward winning the war. Many of the Jewish youth of Palestine have already

paid the supreme sacrifice in the line of battle and their loved ones at home aid our allied armies by operating war plants and in the transportation of vital implements of war.

The Jewish troops are not only fighting to save their Jewish brethren of Europe but are fighting to help save the lives of our boys as well. They are a part of our integrate forces. They are fighting to help save the democratic way of life, to which they have already contributed much.

Mr. Churchill, the dynamic force that he is, respected by all, even by the Axis nations though they care not to admit, has the opportunity now to enforce his words by concrete action. He should persuade His Britannic Majesty to abrogate this white paper, and together with the Allied nations, particularly with the United States through its War Refugee Board, create now a haven for these Jews. Get them out of the Nazi-controlled countries. Give them temporary shelter with the hope that Palestine will keep its doors open forever to welcome them.

Mr. Speaker, and Members of the House, hearings are now being held by the Committee on Foreign Affairs concerning the welfare of the persecuted minorities. I know a resolution will be adopted by that committee by a unanimous vote and I hope this House will adopt it likewise.

Representative Pfeifer also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement, urging the immediate adoption of the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. HARRY SAUTHOFF

*Representative from Wisconsin**

Hitler's approaching doom. Probable confusion to follow.

*A speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, April 26, 1944.

Nazis will blame the Jews. What can we do? The Balfour Declaration made by England after securing America's approval. The Palestine Mandate. The White Paper issued without America's knowledge or consent is a repudiation of the Anglo-American agreement. If we do not protest we must be deemed to acquiesce. The American and the British Governments are thus responsible for Jewish lives. The Jewish Tragedy. Why should the Foreign Affairs Committee, by its silence, bow to the objections of the British Government? America should have its own foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, the clock of destiny is tolling the knell of Hitler and his followers. Every day we read in the press that each hour the reckoning is drawing closer. What will happen when that hour strikes? Probably confusion, chaos, and revolution, with everyone pointing the finger of guilt at everyone else, with the accusation, "It's his fault." But in the midst of all this effort to avoid any guilt, we can be almost positive that the Nazis will blame the Jews for the misfortunes of the people and attempt to stir up more bitterness and hatred so as to wreak vengeance on these unhappy people. What can we do about it?

LET US REVIEW THE RECORD

Following the First World War, the British Government pledged itself to the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Before that declaration was made, Great Britain secured the approval of the United States of America. Subsequently, the Allied Supreme Council allotted the mandate for Palestine to Great Britain to put the above resolution into effect.

Nineteen years later, the British Government issued the Palestine white paper, putting a stoppage on Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 1944, with other limitations. From all that I have learned on the subject, the British white paper was issued without the knowledge or consent of the United States Government. This, in my

judgment, is a direct repudiation of her contractual obligation, and this country should not permit such a repudiation without our knowledge and consent, for if we sit silently by without a protest on our part, then we must be deemed to acquiesce in this repudiation and therefore consent to it. I do not find anywhere that the President, the State Department, or the Congress has made any such declaration.

I cannot help but feel that the Government of the United States, as well as the Government of Great Britain, is directly responsible for the lives of these unfortunate people, and that therefore in the name of common decency and humanity, we should vigorously pursue a policy aiming at first, a strict adherence to the Palestine mandate, and second, the protection, insofar as it is at all humanly possible, of the Jewish people situated in lands occupied by the Nazis.

All of us are convinced, even though we have not been eye witnesses, of the terrors and horrors visited upon these helpless people and no one can doubt but what the near future will mean an increase in brutality, starvation, and extermination. Surely we can use our good offices and solicit the aid of neutral countries in seeking to remove these people before the last unholy catastrophe befalls them. I cannot understand why the Committee on Foreign Relations has not made a more persistent effort to extend a helping hand to those who are so sorely distressed. I appreciate that our Foreign Relations Committee always falls back on that well-known apology, "Our allies do not think that this is the proper time." What they really mean is that the British Government objects, and the committee bows to that objection. Why should it?

The United States is a free and powerful Nation and ought to have a foreign policy of its own. When do we

expect to grow up? Must we always be led about by the hand and look to Britain for our foreign policy?

For several years the question of feeding the starving children of Europe has been before our committee but it has taken no action. For months the Palestine question has been before our committee but no action has been taken. We are told that Britain objects. Let it be said to our shame and disgrace that the objections of Britain did not stop Turkey from aiding the starving people of Greece, why then should it stop us? I think it is high time we stood on our own feet and declared our own principles and ceased having a foreign policy where the tail wags the dog.

Representative Sauthoff also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement favoring the Resolutions.

HON. JOSEPH E. TALBOT

*Representative from Connecticut**

All agree on relief for persecuted Jews. The White Paper bars their entry to the only country anxious to receive them. It is their internationally assured Homeland. The Balfour Declaration was approved by all the Allied Powers and the United States. Incorporated into the Peace Treaty. The Palestine Mandate made England the Trustee for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was prophesied by Wilson, Lloyd George, Smuts, Churchill and others that it would rise into a Jewish Commonwealth. The Congress Resolution, 1922, the Anglo-American Treaty, and the reaffirmation of the Palestine policy by every American President from Wilson to Roosevelt. America's faith was justified by Jewish achievements in Palestine. It is the only active United Nations' ally in the Middle East. Jews gave the greatest volunteer ratio. Their sacrifices. Other military, economic contributions. They are fighting a common struggle. The White Paper penalizes the Jews, England's

*A speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, January 4, 1944.

friends, rewards her enemies. It is contrary to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Incredible that Jews be barred from their Homeland, of all places, because they are Jews. England's leaders are aware of the incongruity, nevertheless they continue it. Churchill vigorously denounced it as a breach and a repudiation. Now is his chance to implement his words with action. America's duty to urge the White Paper abrogation, without embarrassment. Palestine immigration is vital, cannot be postponed. Two Resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, the subject I wish to speak upon today should not be controversial. There should be no disagreement on either side of the aisle. In every American city today, organizations are being formed to bring relief to the persecuted Jews of Europe. These organizations contain the names of our most representative citizens of every race and creed. Nor am I unmindful of the boast of Hitler, made in his New Year's Day radio speech, that he would exterminate every Jew in Europe before he gave up the reins. I am also reminded that within the past week, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, by unanimous resolution, has advocated instant relief for these peoples.

Mr. Speaker, the question of the plight of the Jews of Europe has been discussed on the floor of this House before. If I bring it up again at this time, it is because the one practical, immediate step which can be taken to save the millions of Jews still left in Europe is shortly to be prohibited. It is because the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939, which goes into effect on March 31, 1944—just 66 days from now—would bar all new Jewish immigration into Palestine—the one country which is anxious to receive the shattered remnants of European Jewry.

At this very moment millions of oppressed and persecuted Jews are imploring the civilized world to provide them with a means of escape from their Axis inquisitors. German troops take time off to murder every surviving

Jewish person as they fall back to the borders of pre-war Germany, and it has become increasingly apparent that it will take too long for any new agency to do an effective job of saving these hapless people. In order that they may be rescued, the existing machinery simply must be made to work. I propose to explain the nature of that machinery and to show how it can be made to work.

There exists at the present time in Palestine an internationally assured homeland for the Jewish people. It would seem, therefore, logical that Palestine should be the country to absorb the bulk of the millions of Jews now knocking on the doors of the nations of the world. Half a million Palestinian Jews are eager to receive their down-trodden brethren. They have stated many times their spiritual and economic preparedness to absorb the great mass of European Jewish refugees.

This Palestinian offer is reinforced by some of the most sacred covenants of our time. A brief survey of the historical facts pertaining to the establishment of the Jewish homeland will serve to spotlight the responsibility of the United Nations toward the Jewish people and its homeland.

Mr. White. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Talbot. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. White. Would the gentleman consider the possibility of establishing a Jewish homeland in the Western Hemisphere, on the coast of Peru? On the Pacific side is a plain there where it does not rain but it is very fertile. By bringing the waters from the head of the Amazon it would make it very valuable land. There are 100 square miles in there of what is the most fertile lands in the world, in one of the finest climates in the world.

Mr. Talbot. I may say before I complete my statement I think I will cover the whole situation.

Mr. White: I have been trying to find time to make the necessary investigation. As chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the House, I am going to propose a project for the establishment of the Jews in Peru at a point that is not now inhabited. It is one of the finest countries in the world, if they only had water. It seems to me the Jews should look into the possibilities of that project.

Mr. Talbot. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago Britain issued the famous Balfour Declaration, which pledged that government's aid in the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. That declaration was published to the world, with the full approval of all the Allied Powers then engaged in the First World War, and with the encouragement and support of the United States. It gave promise of the fulfillment of an age-old Jewish dream. That pledge was strengthened when the terms of the Balfour Declaration were incorporated into the peace treaty, with the aid and approval of President Woodrow Wilson. The mandate for Palestine was conferred upon Great Britain by the 52 nations of the League of Nations. England became the trustee for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. At that time, Wilson, Lloyd George, Smuts, Churchill, and many others prophesied that when continued immigration gave Jews the sanction of numbers, a Jewish commonwealth would rise on the banks of the Jordan.

Mr. Speaker, in 1922 the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, by unanimous vote, adopted a joint resolution favoring the establishment of the Jewish homeland in Palestine. Two years later, a special treaty between England and the United States gave reenforced American sanction to the mandate for Palestine. I should like to call one clause of that treaty in particular to your attention. It reads:

Nothing in the treaty shall be affected by any modifications which may later be made in the terms of the mandate, unless such modifications shall have first been assented to by the United States.

The United States has never relinquished that right. Every American President, from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, has reaffirmed and declared as traditional policy of the United States with regard to Palestine—the restoration of the Jewish national homeland.

Mr. Celler. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Talbot. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Celler. I am sure the gentleman will also point out that the so-called MacDonald White Paper of 1939 violates the very treaty to which the gentleman has referred.

Mr. Talbot. That is correct, and I will point that out.

Mr. Celler. Further, our administration, including our State Department, has seen fit to remain silent in the face of that violation.

Mr. Talbot. That is correct.

Mr. Speaker, our support of that Jewish homeland 25 years ago was more than an act of decency. It was an act of faith. And the developments of the past twenty-odd years have proved that our faith was not misplaced. Jewish Palestine has grown from a tiny settlement to a thriving modern community of over half a million. Its pioneers have transformed wasteland into rich fields and orchards; its workers and teachers have brought life not merely to the half-million Jews who came there, but also to those millions who, throughout the most terrible persecution in all history, have been sustained only by the hope of being able to reach their homeland.

Palestine exists today as the one active and loyal ally of the United Nations in the Middle East. The Jews of

Palestine have created an oasis of militant democracy in a desert of indifference and animosity.

The full story of Palestine Jewry's contribution to the war remains to be told, and it is imperative that the facts be made known now. Here is part of that story:

Jewish Palestine has sent 30,000 volunteers into direct action against the Axis. Thirty thousand, out of a total Jewish population of about 550,000, is the equivalent of a voluntary enlistment of 8,000,000 in the United States. And despite the fact that Jews constitute but one-third of the Palestine population, a full 75 percent of the volunteers are Jews.

The Palestinian Jewish troops have left their dead on every Mediterranean and Middle Eastern battlefield. They were the suicide units who fought in Eritrea, the stevedores who, in Winston Churchill's words, "unloaded history" in Tunisia, the engineers who manned General Montgomery's fortifications and transportation systems when the Eighth Army was engaged in the crucial Battle of Egypt.

Mr. Speaker, there are now over 2,000 Palestine Jewish girls driving trucks which ferry supplies from north African ports to inland bases.

Moreover, since the outbreak of war, the citizens of the Palestine home front have upped their industrial production threefold. Jewish factories working three shifts a day, produced \$42,000,000 worth of vital war materials in 1942.

Despite the acute farm-labor shortage occasioned by the unprecedented number of Jews who have joined the forces and entered war plants, Palestine has made great strides toward agricultural self-sufficiency. It has doubled both the area under irrigation and the crop yield.

Mr. Churchill has said that a people is entitled to its freedom to the extent that it fights for it. The Jews of

Palestine are fighting. They are fighting not only for their own lives and rights, but also for the lives and rights of the millions of European Jews who are unable to defend themselves. They are fighting in the common struggle to protect the rights of all people in all lands.

And what is more—they have gone all-out in this war despite the existence of a document which, if implemented, will freeze them into a permanent minority in their own homeland. That document, the Palestine White Paper, penned by Prime Minister Chamberlain's colonial office in 1939, would slam the doors of Palestine in the faces of all Jewish immigrants on March 31. It was issued to appease those Arabs who had been stirred up against the British and the Jews by the Nazis and the Fascists. It rewards Britain's enemies and penalizes her best friends in the Middle East.

Mr. Dickstein. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Talbot. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Dickstein. I am in full accord with the gentleman's statement and am very grateful for his fine remarks, but I call his attention to the fact that Palestine could not absorb all of the persecuted Jews who are doomed to die unless something is done by the Allied Nations. I have introduced House Joint Resolution 154 to admit temporarily into this country only for the duration of the war a number of people who are physically, mentally, and morally good. Can the gentleman speak on that question, too, and state whether he would be willing to go along to the extent of admitting a number of those people to this country as well as to other Allied countries in order to save them?

Mr. Talbot. At the outset of my remarks I mentioned that all over this country today there are organizations consisting not only of Jewish people but of Catholic priests,

Protestant ministers, bishops, and others of our finest people, representative of our citizenry, who are deeply interested in this matter.

The Speaker. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. Talbot. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut.

There was no objection.

Mr. Talbot. Mr. Speaker, Britain is today one of the leaders of the United Nations. Together with our own Government, she gave to the peoples of the world the Atlantic Charter. It is incongruous that a nation which proclaims that all men in all lands should live in peace and security should at the same time admit authorship of the infamous White Paper. It is almost incredible that the Jewish national homeland, so solemnly pledged to the Jewish people by Great Britain, should be the one place on this earth, outside of Axis-dominated countries, where Jews are to be barred, simply because they are Jews.

I believe that the present leaders of the British Government are aware of that incongruity. They were not responsible for the promulgation of the white-paper policy, but they are responsible for its continuation. Five years ago, in parliamentary debate on that subject, Mr. Churchill rose in the House of Commons to denounce the White Paper in the most vigorous language. He called it a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and of England's sacred obligation as the mandatory power entrusted with the establishment of the Jewish national homeland and the close settlement of Jews on Palestine's soil. Mr. Churchill now has an opportunity which comes to few leaders against an injustice—the chance to implement his words with concrete actions.

We in America have both the legal right and the moral duty to strongly urge that the British Government should do this. There should be no question here of embarrassing an Allied nation. This business of the White Paper is not a delicate controversial issue in which we dare not engage; for it is the existence of the White Paper which creates controversy and not the effort to combat it.

Immigration into Palestine is vital to the lives of millions of people, and its discussion cannot be postponed indefinitely. As cosigners of the 1924 treaty with Britain, we in the United States must see to it that the mandate of Palestine and the Balfour Declaration are fulfilled.

Representative Talbot also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement approving the Resolution.

HON. DEAN P. TAYLOR

*Representative from New York**

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House to House Resolution 419, now before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That resolution states:

That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine be opened for the free entry of the Jews * * * and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker is worthy of the support of the entire Congress—support that will not end with the mere passage of the resolution, but rather support that will make the contents of the resolution an actuality. In these days when we are deeply concerned with the problem

*A speech delivered (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, February 1, 1944.

of relieving oppression, we should not overlook the plight of the Jewish people who have suffered oppression throughout the ages.

Without equivocation this country should state its position on the Jewish problem in Europe, as suggested by House Resolution 419. A just solution of that problem will go far toward the establishment of harmony among all mankind, a step necessary if we are to maintain permanent peace throughout the world.

HON. THAD P. WASIELEWSKI

Representative from Wisconsin

Long before the Christian era Palestine has been recognized as the Homeland of the Jews. During the past several centuries the Jews have not had a land that they could refer to as their own. They have been unmercifully persecuted, particularly in the past decade, in many corners of the world. It is therefore proper that their Homeland Palestine may be revived and made a place of refuge for these persecuted peoples. Humanity and common descency demand that some relief be given to these worthy people.

Representative Wasielewski also delivered the following speech (by extension of remarks) in the House of Representatives, March 28, 1944:

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Milwaukee Journal of March 23, 1944:

APPEASEMENT AND PALESTINE

Palestine is to be closed to all Jewish immigration April 1, 1944, ending hope for many of the persecuted people still left in bleeding Europe. Thus the last major act of that British appeasement which took place under threat of the Axis, the White Paper of 1939, will become completely effective.

The United States has never given approval to the closing of Palestine. Without approval, such closing violates a treaty (1924) between the British and American Governments. The White Paper does not merely interpret the 1917 Balfour declaration, which called for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish homeland. The White Paper wrecks that declaration, which, incidentally, was unanimously endorsed by Congress in 1922.

That, in brief, is the background of the White Paper; also, it is the reason why there are resolutions before Congress (sponsored jointly by men of such divergent political views as Wagner and Taft) asking that the British Government rescind the White Paper and remove the restrictions on Jewish immigration into the promised homeland.

Arabs and Jews were both beneficiaries of British promises in World War No. 1 after they helped Britain defeat Turkey, an ally of Germany. Largely by British arms, a million square miles were wrested from the Turks, six Arab kingdoms were set up. So the Arabs were pretty well rewarded. What the Jews got was only limited rights in tiny Palestine, containing 10,000 square miles.

Even this annoys the Arabs. They don't want their fellow Semites, the Jewish people, to have even equal rights or equal population in Palestine, although Arabs themselves are welcome, not only in the million square miles taken from the Turks, but in a total Middle East and north African area of more than 7,000,000 square miles.

The White Paper appeased the Axis-inspired Arabs by limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine to 75,000 (29,000 adults) from 1939 to 1944, when it is to cease unless Arabs consent (which they won't) to further immigration. Jewish land purchase is limited to 2.6 percent of Palestine's area; that means 260 square miles or a little more than Milwaukee County.

The Arabs have made no appreciable contribution to the global war effort—except to the Axis. An Arab legion now fights with the Wehrmacht, the Mufti of Jerusalem is in Nazi territory helping Hitler, several Arab states have been held in line only by Allied arms. Yet the Arabs are rewarded. The Jewish people all over the world assist the Allied cause; 30,000 Palestine Jews (equivalent, proportionately, to 8,000,000 persons in the United States) have enlisted in Allied armies and are fighting on many fronts. Yet the Jews are penalized.

The Arab press threatens us, hints that our desire for Arabian oil will make us forget Jewish claims in Palestine. When President Roosevelt stated, recently, that the United States has never

approved the British white paper, the Arab Union of Cairo sent him a message saying, "Such repeated statements might give rise to tragedy which would by no means be advantageous to the Allied nations."

British censorship delayed publication of Mr. Roosevelt's statement in Palestine, and even Churchill's speech praising Palestine Jewry's war effort. That is how far Arab intimidation of Britain still goes. Military men, with a job to do, including General Marshall, do not want the white paper torn up now. That is understandable. They fear sufficient Arab reaction to increase the war task.

Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of Jewish people face death, though many might be saved if Palestine—their promised homeland—were open to them.

We do not say when, but certainly as soon as is militarily possible, Palestine should be opened to them. They ask no help to defend themselves. If Arab threats should ever become action, Palestine is willing to defend itself. The Jews who would immigrate to Palestine ask nothing but the chance to live—and, if necessary, to fight to live.

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

Representative from Illinois

I wish to state that I will support the Republican Platform pertaining to Palestine.

HON. H. CARL ANDERSEN

Representative from Minnesota

Please place my name among the list of the Congressmen who favor the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

Representative from New Mexico

I am glad to reiterate my belief that the recreation of a Jewish National Home is an act of elementary justice to a people that has gone through shocking trials and tribulations in recent times. It is a simple act of humani-

tarian statesmanship to help the Jews of the world to alleviate the suffering of their European brothers by strengthening their national homeland.

HON. JOHN Z. ANDERSON

Representative from California

I should like to advise that I am in hearty accord with the plank on Palestine which was adopted by the Republican Party at the Chicago Convention. I sincerely hope that Palestine will eventually be opened to the unrestricted immigration of persons of the Jewish race.

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

Representative from Alabama

Twenty-five years ago Jewish Palestine was hardly more than a dream. Today, as a result of the magnificent toil of Jewish pioneers, a country has been rejuvenated in a way which astonished the world and filled it with admiration.

The Jewish people, so incredibly persecuted by fiendish tyrants, is entitled to expect continued support in their efforts to re-create the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. As Christians, as Americans, as human beings—we shall not fail them.

HON. WALTER G. ANDREWS

Representative from New York

These Resolutions have been referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House for hearings. It is expected that they will be reported shortly to the House, and I am pleased to inform you that I will support them.

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

Representative from Oregon

While our men in uniform are fighting around the world for the preservation of liberty and the perpetuation of the principles of democracy and tolerance, not only in America but everywhere, we should make every effort to ban religious, racial and group intolerance of any kind, and to that end, we in America should exert every effort for the opening of the gates of Palestine to the oppressed Jewish refugees of the Old World. It is my fervent hope that the United States may, through its good offices, bring this relief to the Jewish people.

Representative Angell also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, urging the adoption of the Resolutions.

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

Representative from New Jersey

I am glad to express my sincere sympathy for the movement to open the doors of Palestine to the Jewish people and to establish a Jewish National Home in that locality. It seems only logical that such should be done and I hope that the long night of waiting may soon be ended in the dawn of happier and more peaceful times for these poor suppressed people of Europe. After all, it appears to be a matter of simple justice.

HON. H. STREETT BALDWIN

Representative from Maryland

I am deeply sympathetic with the Jews in Europe who have been suffering such outrageous treatment at the hands of the Nazi. I sincerely hope and feel sure that

the men who sit in on the Peace Conference will see to it that some provision is made whereby the Jews will have a permanent home and peace in the future. At this time it would seem that Palestine would be the most desirable homeland for them, but it is most doubtful now how the face of Europe may be changed or what new nations may spring up as a result of the Peace Conference. In any event, I feel sure that the question of a home for the homeless Jews will occupy an important place in the Peace Conference.

HON. JOSEPH CLARK BALDWIN

Representative from New York

I feel very strongly that the Jewish people should be given a homeland in Palestine, and that it should be on the agenda of our discussions with the British in the attempt to solve the many problems confronting all of us.

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

Representative from Wyoming

Most assuredly the sympathies of every freedom-loving citizen of our Republic must be favorable to the movement to open the doors of Palestine to the oppressed Jews of Europe, and to reconstitute the Jewish National Home in Palestine. To these sentiments I heartily subscribe.

HON. WILLIAM B. BARRY

Representative from New York

Jews have poured millions of dollars into Palestine. Many thousands of acres of land have been reclaimed and put into fertile production. Modern cities have been built. The Jews have created new industries. They have

vastly improved health conditions, and have established hospitals. The standard of living has been raised in Palestine for Jews and Arabs alike. All of these things and many others were accomplished by Jews relying on the Balfour Declaration's promise of a homeland for their people.

Unless the White Paper is revoked and unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine is permitted and the prohibitions on the purchase of land are lifted, the civilized world will condemn the British Government for violating its solemn pledge made in the Balfour Declaration and for betraying these people.

Never in the history of the Jewish people have they needed a homeland more than they do at present. To deny it to them now on the grounds of expediency is to repudiate all principles of Christian morality.

Representative Barry also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement, supporting the Resolution:

Mr. Chairman, I wish to go on record in support of House Resolution 418, which proposes in substance that the United States shall use its best efforts to persuade the British Government to live up to the obligations of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, so that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews, and the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth.

On April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council allotted a mandate for Palestine to Great Britain for the express purpose of putting the Balfour Declaration into effect. The draft of the Palestine Mandate was submitted to the United States Government, and at its request, minor alterations were made in it. At the same time in the

interest of the Jewish national home, the United States expressly gave up certain economic rights which it had in Palestine. On June 30, 1922, Congress adopted a joint resolution which was signed by President Harding on September 21, 1922, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Finally in 1924, the terms of the Palestine Mandate were ratified by the treaty of December 3 between Great Britain and the United States. That treaty cites the terms of the mandate in full. Article 1—

subject to the provisions of the present convention, the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty pursuant to the mandate recited above. * * * Nothing in the treaty shall be affected by any modifications which may later be made in the terms of the mandate unless such modifications shall have first been assented to by the United States.

It is, therefore, clear that the assent of America was regarded as necessary in the disposition of Palestine by the Associated Powers.

The United States never agreed to the Palestine White Paper which provides (1) total stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 1944; (2) rigorous restrictions on land purchase by Jews, and (3) the ultimate establishment of an independent Palestine state, in which Jews should constitute not more than one-third of the population.

The White Paper was issued in May 1939 to appease the Arabs. Whatever conditions existed then impelling the British to take the position they did do not exist now. The Arabs contributed nothing to the victories in Syria, north Africa, Ethiopia, whereas the Palestine Jews sent into the fight 30,000 volunteers, which is a high percentage for their Palestine population. Furthermore, the Jews have many members of their religion and race fight-

ing in armies of the United States, the British Empire, and other United Nations. There never was a time in the history of the Jewish people when they needed a place of refuge more than they do now.

I feel that it is, therefore, our right and our duty to use every reasonable method of persuasion to have the British Government repudiate the White Paper and to permit unlimited Jewish colonization of Palestine.

HON. GEORGE J. BATES

Representative from Massachusetts

I trust that some way can be found by authorities here and abroad by which the original mandate, setting aside and guaranteeing a Jewish National Home in Palestine can be maintained.

Representative Bates also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement in favor of the Palestine Resolution as a reaffirmation of the 1922 Act of Congress and submitted Resolutions adopted in 1919 and again in 1939 by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for a Jewish National Home in Palestine. He also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee, favoring the Palestine Resolution and indicating the Jewish accomplishments in Palestine and its absorptive possibilities.

HON. JOE B. BATES

Representative from Kentucky

I have not had the time to acquaint myself with the merits and demerits of setting up a Jewish nation in Palestine. I have known for many years the handicaps and inconveniences that the Jewish people were forced to endure and from a purely sentimental viewpoint, I have been very sympathetic to the creation of a Jewish country some place.

HON. J. GLENN BEALL
Representative from Maryland

Great Britain and the United States entered into an agreement as to Palestine, while Mr. Chamberlain was Prime Minister. This agreement was broken by Great Britain for reasons that I cannot explain.

I do hope that the Wright-Compton Resolution will bring this matter to the attention of the British Parliament in order that Palestine may be declared a free country.

HON. JOHN B. BENNETT
Representative from Michigan

I am very glad to tell you that I am in favor of the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Regardless of race, creed or religion, it should have the support of people everywhere who believe in a fair and just peace for all nations and all people. It is a great objective and should have united support.

HON. MARION T. BENNETT
Representative from Missouri

Ten years ago hundreds and thousands of Jewish communities existed in Europe. Wherever Hitler established his rule, he destroyed them and deported the population. Our own State Department estimates that more than three million civilian Jews have been murdered in one decade.

Palestine has proved to be the only and one solution of the problem of the scattered remnants of the European Jewries.

We shall not betray those who justly count on our aid.

We shall give continued support to the brave men and women who have rebuilt a new Home for the Jewish people in the Holy Land.

HON. SOL BLOOM

Representative from New York

CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

I whole-heartedly approve the object of opening the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and the further development of a Jewish National Homeland in that country.

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

Representative from Ohio

I am sure I need not assure you of my deep sympathy for the agonies of the persecuted Jews of Europe, nor do I need to say that this seems a most incredible moment to have the doors of Palestine closed to Jews. Such discrimination, particularly when it has been done in apparent violation of agreements, has no place in our world.

HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

Representative from Alabama

I have had many letters and telegrams on this matter and have advised all those persons interested that I shall gladly support this measure when it comes up on the floor of the House. I have also written to Honorable Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, that I would be delighted to do anything I could to be of assistance in this matter.

HON. MICHAEL J. BRADLEY

Representative from Pennsylvania

I was one of those who felt that the Balfour Declaration was wise and timely and I approved of its purpose of establishing a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people. Much has been accomplished in this connection and I regret very much the publication of the British White Paper and the attitude of the British Government in cutting off immigration into Palestine of the Jewish people. I sincerely trust that ways and means might be found to discontinue this policy on the part of the British Government in order that the original purposes of the Balfour Declaration might be accomplished.

HON. WALTER E. BREHM

Representative from Ohio

Please permit me to assure you that I am wholeheartedly in support of the Zionist Movement to keep Palestine open as a homeland for the Jewish race.

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

Representative from Louisiana

As you know, I have for many years favored the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. History, both religious and secular, designates Palestine as a home of the Jewish people; and it is only natural that, after many centuries of wandering, the leaders of the Jewish people in all parts of the world should turn their minds back toward Palestine.

I am persuaded that as soon as the Military situation permits the Palestine resolution now pending in Congress will be passed. It is needless for me to tell you that

I shall give my cooperation for the cause of the restoration of this Great Land to your people as their heritage.

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

Representative from Ohio

The continuation and enlargement of the Jewish National Homeland is much to be desired. Great work has been done by the Jewish people in Palestine during the past quarter of a century; and it is to be hoped that all the enlightened nations of the world will join in making this historic effort of the Jewish people a great success.

HON. PAUL BROWN

Representative from Georgia

I am glad to have the benefit of your views on House Resolutions 418 and 419. I see no reason why I shouldn't vote for these resolutions. I shall contact the Committees as requested.

HON. D. EMMERT BRUMBAUGH

Representative from Pennsylvania

The agonizing plight of millions of defenseless men, women and children of the Jewish race in occupied Europe has shocked the conscience of the civilized world.

Countless Jews have been brutally murdered and the race subjected to relentless persecution because of adherence to the Jewish faith.

I am convinced that Palestine is the rightful inheritance of the Jewish people and that from Biblical prophecies the return of the Jew to the Promised Land will prove the only solution to the Jewish problem since it will provide a haven of refuge to millions of tortured souls.

HON. JOSEPH R. BRYSON

Representative from South Carolina

For years I have visualized the accomplishment by the Jewish people of a home of their own and have wondered why Palestine could not be used. From time to time as I have had opportunity to do so I have conferred with Congressman Sol Bloom as well as other Jewish leaders about the problem presented in your letter.

To be sure, I do not know what, if any, international or national problems may be involved but in the main I am in thorough accord with your views and shall confer further with my colleagues looking toward the accomplishment of the desired results.

HON. ELLSWORTH B. BUCK

Representative from New York

I do feel that somewhere in the world there should be a Jewish state which would serve as a rallying point for Jewish aspirations, but I know so little concerning the problem as it relates to Palestine that it would be both fruitless and unwise for me to express any opinion.

HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

Representative from New York

We must keep Palestine open for a free entry of Jews. The White Paper must be cancelled by Great Britain. Twenty-five years ago the British Government solemnly proclaimed Palestine as the National Jewish Homeland. This pledge must be kept.

Too many Jewish lives are being sacrificed. They should be aided, rather than hindered. We are dealing with human life.

The resolution in Congress urging Great Britain to cancel the White Paper must be passed.

I am doing what I can. I hope that for the sake of civilization we will be successful in abrogating the White Paper and for all time give to the Jews the right of entry in Palestine and the recognition that it is a National Homeland.

HON. ALFRED L. BULWINKLE

Representative from North Carolina

As soon as possible, whether during the present war or after peace is declared, I shall support the Palestine Resolution pending in Congress.

HON. THOMAS G. BURCH

Representative from Virginia

I have been very much interested in the effort looking to the further development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Please be assured of my approval of this worthy movement.

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

Representative from North Dakota

I think the United States is pretty well committed to a policy of establishing a homeland for the Jewish people, but it will depend upon what the other powers think when peace is made. I doubt very much if the Jewish people in the United States would be personally concerned with any distinctive homeland as they are a part of us here in this country, and would prefer the United States to anything else. I suppose that would hold true in any other country once the dictators are disposed of.

HON. WILLIAM T. BYRNE

Representative from New York

It gives me great happiness to join wholeheartedly with all the people of our Country who seek to open the doors of Palestine to the uprooted Jews of Europe, and to reconstitute the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Representative Byrne also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives advising of his approval and support of the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. A. SIDNEY CAMP

Representative from Georgia

I am not fully informed on the political question involved in the establishment of the National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. I do sincerely think there is a need for the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people somewhere. If it is not practicable for the British Government to establish it in Palestine then I think it should be established somewhere else. Personally I believe that the re-constitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth would be ideally and sentimentally desirable.

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

Representative from New Jersey

Well do I recall the visit made to Palestine several years ago by my late Chief and predecessor, Congressman Seger. One of the things he stressed most upon his return was the remarkable development of Palestine by Jewish emigrants, both industrially and agriculturally. He spoke most highly of these liberty-loving people and he described vividly how waste lands had been converted into productive fields and thriving communities.

I cannot help but feel, as Mr. Churchill expressed himself in the spring of 1939 regarding the Balfour Declaration, that Britain will not close the door to this immigration, and I agree with Senator McNary that there are few undertakings in the world today that are so completely in accord with the dictates of justice and necessity. I shall continue to request our government to urge the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration so that the Jewish People may continue the upbuilding of the great Commonwealth whose foundations they have laid.

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

Representative from Missouri

Permit me to express deepest interest in and heartiest approval of the movement to open doors of Palestine to the uprooted Jews of Europe, and to reconstitute the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It should have the active and aggressive support of every people and every sect. I trust you will command me whenever I can cooperate.

HON. LOUIS J. CAPOZZOLI

Representative from New York

My sentiments on the question of opening the doors of Palestine to the Jews of Europe and reconstituting the Jewish National Home have long been known. On many occasions, in and out of Congress, I have supported this movement.

Our country has long favored a Jewish National Home and it would be in keeping with our country's policy for the House of Representatives to pass the Wright-Compton Resolution. Every opportunity for colonization should be given to the Jews, so that a free and democratic Jewish home may ultimately be established.

Representative Capozzoli also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, advocating open doors of Palestine to Jews, for ultimate establishment of their Home, and urging a favorable report of the Resolution.

HON. HENDERSON H. CARSON

Representative from Ohio

Palestine originally a barren country, desolate and forsaken, has been transformed by Jewish Idealism and labor into a thriving country, and it stands today as the world's most outstanding example of reclamation.

The establishment of a National Home in Palestine for those of the Jewish race who desire it is a cause which should enlist the interest and support of all fairminded and liberty-loving Americans.

HON. ALBERT E. CARTER

Representative from California

The appeal of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine as a home for those unfortunate victims of Hitler is so great that I shall gladly support the movement.

HON. FRANCIS CASE

Representative from South Dakota

A lot of words are being spoken and written these days about winning the peace. If the winning of the war does not bring into reality a Jewish National Home in Palestine, millions of people will rightfully feel that one fruit of victory has been lost.

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

Representative from New York

It is well that wide voice be given to the uregnt need

for the immediate opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

The obvious illegality of the McDonald White Paper calls for its abrogation. It is a violation of the Balfour Declaration, a violation of the ratification by 52 nations of the Palestine Mandate and a violation of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924. If the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations condemned it in 1939, then how much stronger must its condemnation be today in the interest of justice and humanity.

The Jewish National Homeland must not be jeopardized by power politics, nor shall property rights supercede the human rights. It must be remembered in the words of Churchill, "The Jews are in Palestine by right and not on sufferance."

Representative Celler also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement: The White Paper violates the Congressional Resolution of 1922, the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924. The State Department has kept silent although there were ample reasons for protest. Ambassador Bingham's stand in 1937. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations repudiated the White Paper. Fifty-one Senators, one hundred and ninety-four Representatives (including fifteen members of The Foreign Affairs Committee), thirty Governors protested by petition. White Paper's lack of merit is evidenced by a reputed statement of Lord Halifax, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Vigorous protests were made by most prominent British leaders, including Winston Churchill. Palestine is the only place where Jews are not unwanted. It can absorb two million Jews. Favorable consideration of the Palestine Resolution will destroy the White Paper.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I want, at the outset, to thank you for this high privilege of presenting a statement this morning on H. R. 418, introduced by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Penn-

sylvania, Mr. Wright, and H. R. 419, introduced by our distinguished colleague from Connecticut, Mr. Compton.

I shall occupy but 10 minutes of your valuable time, ladies and gentlemen, trying to cramp into that space my views on this momentous question.

The resolutions before this committee are in the spirit of the humanitarian Presidential directive setting up the War Refugee Board, to rescue helpless and hopeless Jews and other refugees from the charnel house of Hitler's Festung Europa.

The resolutions seek at long last to have definite action taken by way of urging Great Britain to abrogate the Malcolm Macdonald White Paper of 1939, and to establish Palestine as a haven and national homeland for the Jews, in accordance with the principles laid down by the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917.

Now, since this White Paper of 1939 limits immigration in Palestine to 75,000 (and up to this point there are only thirty-odd thousands certificates of entrance left), and thereafter by April 1 next precludes the entrance of Jews except by will of the Arab majority, we have a paper which violates the Balfour Declaration guaranteeing Palestine as a national homeland, which declaration was abettled and approved by 52 nations, including our own.

It violates the concurrent resolution of Congress adopted in 1922, favoring the said Balfour Declaration as the basis for ceding of Palestine to Great Britain as a mandatory power.

It violates the Anglo-American treaty in 1924, wherein the said Balfour Declaration was reaffirmed, and wherein it was mutually agreed:

(a) that there could be no unilateral infraction of the treaty by either party, and

(b) that there could be no discrimination as to immigration into Palestine of peoples on the grounds of race or religion.

Aside from the moral and spiritual ties, thus there is a legal nexus between the United States and Palestine. Thus far our administration has not given any expression of opinion anent this so-called White Paper. Our State Department has been strangely silent. In my humble opinion, there were ample grounds for vigorous protest, since this White Paper was a unilateral infraction of the Treaty of 1924, and further involves discrimination as to immigration into Palestine on the grounds of religion and race. Congress should not be silent.

Be it remembered that once before there was such a violation of the Treaty of 1924. In 1937 there was an exchange of notes between our then British Ambassador, Robert W. Bingham, and the British Foreign Office concerning the partition of Palestine with the slicing off of Transjordan, and Ambassador Bingham reminded Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, that no change in the political status of Palestine could take place without the previous consent of the Government of the United States, and I quote the Ambassador, "having regard to the terms of the American-British Convention of December 3, 1924."

America has not consented to the so-called White Paper.

In a note of July 7, 1937, from the British Foreign Office to our American Ambassador at London, the British Government states:

The United States Government has accepted the provisions in article 27 of the mandate, which lays down that the mandate may be altered with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Great Britain submitted the White Paper in 1939 to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as a condition precedent to seeking approval of the Council of the League of Nations, but the Permanent Mandates Commission which contained a British member, not only refused to accept the terms of the White Paper limiting immigration as well as the purchase of land by the Jews, but in very forceful language repudiated the terms of the Macdonald White Paper.

The exigencies of the war precluded England's presenting the White Paper for approval to the Council of the League of Nations.

Thus, then, the White Paper is stripped of all legality. It has no legal justification whatsoever. By its own admission, Britain states it cannot alter the terms of the mandate given to it by the League of Nations without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, and that consent has not been obtained.

Upon Britain's announcement of its change of policy, as contained in the White Paper, President Roosevelt was asked to take action in protest by a petition signed by 51 Senators, 194 Representatives, and 30 Governors. The President expressed his sympathy and promised to do "all in his power" to prevent curtailment of Jewish immigration to Palestine.

On May 17, 1939, despite animadversions against it from all over the world, the British Government published its White Paper, which, in effect, as of April 1st next, would freeze the Jewish minority in Palestine as a permanent ghetto, and if I might say, in common parlance, then their homeland "will be sold down the river."

Also, at that very time, 1939, 15 members of this Foreign Affairs Committee urged our State Department to

protest and termed the White Paper a clear repudiation of the 1924 Anglo-American convention.

That the British Cabinet itself felt that its proposed solution for the future of Palestine was not based on the merits of the case but rather on political expediency of the moment is evidenced from a statement reputedly made by Lord Halifax, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, now British Ambassador here, that "there are times when ethical considerations must yield to practical necessity." That is a fine bit of sophistry. If such practical necessity may be deemed just, I say, "There is a point beyond which even justice becomes unjust."

Now, in the House of Commons in the debate on the White Paper, which has been referred to by our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, Mr. Eberharter, Leopold S. Amery, formerly First Lord of the Admiralty, and formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies, and who was closely associated with the discussion which preceded the Balfour Declaration when he was Secretary to the War Cabinet, said, "The Jews were to be in Palestine as of right, and not on sufferance."

Reference has already been made to the remarks of Herbert Morrison, now Home Secretary, Minister of Home Security in this historic debate on the White Paper in the House of Commons.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the House of Lords, on May 23, 1939, said:

When I come to the actual policy as outlined in this White Paper, then I am bound in honesty to say that I have very grave misgivings. I cannot feel that it holds out a prospect of reasonable justice to the Jews.

The views of many other distinguished men, like Lord Wedgewood, Lloyd George, and General Smuts, are reflected in the following views uttered by Winston

Churchill, who, on the occasion of the debate on the White Paper, said:

I say quite frankly that I find this a melancholy occasion. I feel bound to vote against the proposals of His Majesty's Government. As one intimately and responsibly concerned in the earlier stages of our Palestine policy, I could not stand by and see solemn engagements into which Britain has entered before the world set aside for reasons of administrative convenience or—and it will be a vain hope—for the sake of a quiet life. Like my honorable friend, I should feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself, by silence or inaction, to what I must regard as an act of repudiation.

He finally continued by saying that the White Paper was equivalent to filing a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy.

In a little over 1 month, Jews will be bar locked from Palestine. How ill have the Jews used Palestine that now the one open door must be slammed shut in their search for dignity and security? Indeed, they husbanded its arid soil, made it rich in the fruits of the earth. They built hospitals for Jews and Arabs alike. They brought music and science that had been left behind in civilization's march.

The British Colonial Office says, "Let the Jews go elsewhere." That is said in mocking parallel to, "Let them eat cake."

Many suggestitons have been made for havens for Jews. How fruitful were these suggestions is revealed by the attitude tersely expressed by the Australian delegate at Evian. "Gentlemen," he said, "we in Australia have no racial problem, thank God. We do not intend to have one started." That summation is brilliant in its brevity, finality and tragedy.

Palestine is the only place where the Jews are not unwanted. Now, the White Paper precludes them. Palestine must be opened as a temporary as well as a perma-

ment shelter. It has an absorptive capacity for more than 2,000,000 more Jews.

Be it remembered, also, that shortly before the signing of the mandate, a statement of policy was issued on June 3, 1922, by Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for Colonies, in which the principle of absorptive capacity was set up as the sole criterion for immigration into Palestine. The White Paper sets up another but illegal, amoral standard.

Jews trapped by the Nazi jackals will manage to escape if they know Palestine is open. The underground will help them, just as our underground railway helped escaping slaves to the North before and during the Civil War.

Jews will make the anabasis to Palestine. No matter how perilous the trek may be, they will make it. Their nostalgia for their homeland will sustain them and they will go rejoicing and singing into Zion.

Among the real pleasures of Winston Churchill was his tender care for his 10,000 tropical fish which he maintained in seven ponds on his estate at Chartwell Manor. In peaceful times, he used to watch them for hours, feed them, and call some of them by name. He remembered them when Hitler's attacks on man and beast in England grew ever more ruthless. As First Lord of the Admiralty, he took care to have them removed to safer ponds.

I petition Churchill to have the White Paper, a real cataract of disaster to humans, abrogated so as many as possible of the Jews be taken from Hitler's cesspools of iniquity and death and removed to safer "ponds" in Palestine.

Finally, Cato in the Roman Senate terminated all his speeches with the famous statement, "Delenda est Carthago." "Carthage must be destroyed." I, too, terminate my remarks with the phrase "Delenda est Charta Blanca," "The White Paper must be destroyed."

It will be destroyed by your favorable consideration of these resolutions.

HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

Representative from Colorado

I am in favor of permitting the Jews to return to Palestine. I have so expressed myself on many occasions.

However, in view of the international complications involved at this time I believe that this is a problem beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. Let us hope that some satisfactory solution may be worked out at an early date in order that these persecuted people may find a home.

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPPERFIELD

Representative from Illinois

Since I am a member of Foreign Affairs Committee, which may be called upon in the future to pass upon legislation affecting your program, I deem it advisable not to make any statement now which might bind my course of action in the light of events existing at that time.

I do, however, wish you to know that the plank which was adopted by the Republican Party, has my full approval.

HON. RALPH E. CHURCH

Representative from Illinois

Civilized men everywhere have been shocked and deeply distressed over the persecutions and barbaric treatment of the Jews that have taken place in Nazi ruled countries. But sympathy and tears alone do not solve the Jewish problems.

I am of the opinion that no permanent solution of the Jewish problems in the world will be attained until the Jewish people are given the opportunity to develop a national homeland in Palestine. Given this opportunity, the Jewish people will make an even greater contribution to the culture and general advancement of civilization. In my view, the national homeland in Palestine will be a guarantee of the "Four Freedoms" to Jewry.

HON. CHARLES R. CLASON

Representative from Massachusetts

I wish to assure you that I am heartily in favor of the purpose set forth in these Resolutions.

Not long ago I wrote to President Roosevelt on this subject. I was assured by the State Department, which replied to my letter to the President, that immigration continues but that the number of Jewish people entering Palestine is small at the present time, due to lack of transportation.

I feel, however, that the Arabians have secured an unfair advantage in the original purpose of the British Mandate over this territory due to war conditions. I believe that this situation has now changed to such an extent that careful consideration should be given to a return to the terms of the original agreement which in justice ought to be carried out.

I am glad to advise you that I look with favor on these two House Resolutions and hope that they are shortly reported favorably by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Representative Clason also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives requesting early attention to the Resolutions and showing that our Government has a direct interest in Palestine affairs.

HON. CLIF CLEVENGER

Representative from Ohio

In reply to your recent letter, and with reference to the matter of pressure being brought on our Ally, Great Britain, to allow unlimited immigration to Palestine, it is my considered opinion that this would be a sad travesty indeed for the helpless, homeless millions of Hebrews. Everyone knows the lack of available land and the already hostile Arab population.

I have urged upon Hon. Sam Dickstein that a real place like Madagascar be made available; 1,000 miles long with but two million inhabitants, it would afford a real homeland, with resources to allow a real economy of balanced production and a haven of rest and a guarantee from any outside pressure in the future.

Why not a real homeland with opportunity for the Jews? A place that can really become a Promised Land. Madagascar offers that. Palestine offers strife with the Moslem world.

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

Representative from Missouri

I thought it was a grave mistake for Great Britain to disregard its previous declaration and stop further immigration to Palestine.

It is my hope that Great Britain will see the wisdom of changing its attitude and restore the Balfour Declaration.

HON. JOHN M. COFFEE

Representative from Washington

World Jewry was assured, at the end of the last war, of the creation of a Jewish National Homeland in Pales-

tine. This area embraces about ten thousand square miles as compared with a million and two hundred thousand square miles given over to the Arabs. It is unfortunate now that the treatment accorded to the Jews has been so circumscribed by the British Foreign Office.

I heartily favor further development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and shall support every practical pressure which can be exerted by our own government to accomplish that end.

HON. W. STERLING COLE

Representative from New York

It is imperative that the nations of the world keep faith with the true intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and open the doors of Palestine for the creation of a Jewish State.

HON. WILLIAM C. COLE

Representative from Missouri

The Jews, now everywhere on the globe a minority, have been the first target of Nazi aggression. The Jews are a nation with all attributes of a nation except the most elementary one: soil and territory.

The nations of the world have entered a solemn covenant with the Jewish people promising aid and assistance in the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish State. This covenant should by all means be kept.

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

Representative from North Carolina

The greatest crime of the centuries has been the constant and pitiless persecution of those of Jewish faith. Except for brief and precarious interludes a stream of

human blood has followed the Jewish people. Those of Jewish faith are now writing their achievements in their own blood on the ramparts of freedom in all of the tragic theatres of war. If Palestine will mean peace to a troubled and distracted race, then surely this National Home for those of Jewish faith should be provided. The dignity of man and the majesty of justice requires and demands that civilization provide some haven of peace for a restless race which has contributed so much to the welfare and progress of the world.

HON. WIRT COURTNEY

Representative from Tennessee

The foremost goal of the post-War settlement to be accomplished after the Victory is the restoration of righteousness to humanity. One of the foremost demands in this post-War program must be the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish People who never have surrendered its claim to this country, who have performed a real miracle in its rejuvenation and who have been promised it as a National Home by 52 nations, including the United States.

HON. E. E. COX

Representative from Georgia

I should like to see the whole Palestine question settled in a manner that would be entirely satisfactory to the Jewish people.

HON. FRED L. CRAWFORD

Representative from Michigan

You may rest assured that this problem of Near East relations has had my serious consideration for the past recent years, and I am endeavoring to keep in close touch

with current developments. Certainly all of us are friendly towards the general objective set forth in the resolutions, but none of us wish to take a step at this particular moment which will seriously jeopardize the successful prosecution of this war.

HON. ROBERT CROSSER

Representative from Ohio

I was a member of the House of Representatives at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued, and I made a written statement expressing my approval of the Balfour pronouncement.

The statement [written in 1918] follows:

I approve of the declaration of the British Government on the subject in question. I consider it not only just but highly desirable that the Jewish people should have the opportunity of living under a government which would reflect the views of their race, and so enable them to express more fully the Jewish character. In a general way, it seems to me that this is the right of every race, when it is possible and consistent with the rights of other peoples. The ideals of any race can best be carried out under a government administered in accordance with the views of that race. I favor action by the United States Government in accordance not only with the British declaration, but with the views which I have herein expressed.

I favor the adoption of an appropriate resolution by Congress in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Center, although I would prefer something more definite and substantial in the way of government control than the term "Jewish Center" would seem to contemplate.

As I have already said, I regard it as highly desirable that each race should have an opportunity to express and to carry out its ideals under government administered, so far as is practicable, by the representatives of the race itself.

HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM

Representative from Iowa

For fifteen years I have been interested in this move-

ment and believed it the right thing to do, and also have been of the opinion that the United States as a government should lend every possible encouragement and aid to the movement. These are some of the reasons why I have been in favor of the repeal of the White Papers and reestablishment of the Balfour Resolution and trust in the near future this Resolution will be enacted by the United States Congress.

Simple justice should prompt us to keep faith with these people and we must not allow the movement now so well started to be stopped or interfered with.

HON. JAMES M. CURLEY

Representative from Massachusetts

I beg to state that I believe the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine is deserving of the support of every individual, regardless of race, creed or color. A failure to establish the free entry of the Jewish people into Palestine is equivalent to giving approval to a continuance of the wholesale policy of murder which has prevailed all too long without universal protest.

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

Representative from Nebraska

I am intensely concerned about the future of all the persecuted people of the world. Palestine has played an important role as a haven of refuge. The immigration laws should not discriminate against any religious group.

My support for measures relating to Palestine, naturally, would depend upon the ultimate content of any such legislation and take into consideration the recommendations of the Departments of State, War and Navy.

HON. THOMAS D'ALESSANDRO, Jr.

Representative from Maryland

I favor the Wright-Compton resolution as I have always objected to persecution of any kind and I feel that our country must take the leadership in this matter and that Palestine must be kept open as a haven to the Jewish people.

In 1922 we passed the Balfour Declaration. Great Britain was given the Mandate by the League of Nations. It promised the Jewish people a National Homeland. Some fifty-odd nations constituted the League. This promise must be kept. The Covenant must be respected.

The bleeding children of Israel have no place to lay their heads. How can we in America stand by without sounding a mighty protest that will be heard around the world, should the doors of Palestine be closed next April. Several years ago I cabled Neville Chamberlain that England must keep its sacred Covenant.

The Wright-Compton resolution must be passed and I urge favorable action by your committee so that the stricken, bleeding, homeless refugees may be saved. There is one country which was designated by the nations of the world after the last World War as the National Home for the Jewish people—that country is Palestine—the land of their forefathers.

Representative D'Alessandro also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement urging favorable action by the Committee, pointing out that Palestine was designated by the nations of the world as a Jewish National Home.

HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS

Representative from Tennessee

The White Paper should be rescinded. The Jewish

Commonwealth in Palestine must be established. Jews should control Palestinian immigration and land policies. Only thus can the solemn pledge of the Balfour Declaration, approved by the United States and fifty-three other nations, be redeemed.

Representative Davis also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives promising to do everything for the adoption of the Resolution.

HON. STEPHEN A. DAY

Representative from Illinois

I have long advocated the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish Commonwealth to serve as a home for homeless millions now and after the war.

I am supporting the Resolutions which have been introduced in the House and in the Senate for this worthy purpose. Our Government should use its good offices, as it did once before, to assist these harassed people in accomplishing the rebuilding of their national life in this ancestral home. I recall that at the close of the last war our Government and fifty-two other nations approved this endeavor. The time has come to act and there must be no further delay.

HON. JOHN J. DELANEY

Representative from New York

I am thoroughly in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and have been actively interested in aiding to secure passage of this resolution. I have attended the meetings of the Foreign Relations Committee; and as a member of the Rules Committee, I have pledged myself to support the resolu-

tions protesting against the White Paper and favoring the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine.

HON. CHARLES S. DEWEY

Representative from Illinois

It is my studied conviction that establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine would offer the so cruelly oppressed and persecuted Jews of Europe an opportunity to build a new national home on sound constructive principles. Political, military and economic difficulties should be resolved to the end that such an opportunity is given these deserving people.

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

Representative from New York

My stand on the Palestine question is well known. I have addressed Congress on many occasions and have also made my position clear at many public and private meetings.

Palestine must be kept open as a National Home of the Jews. There must be no discrimination and no restriction of Jewish immigration. We expect Palestine eventually to become not only in name but in fact the Jewish Homeland.

It was the Jews who built Palestine and who made a barren waste into a thriving community. Only by the continuance of Jewish immigration and by enabling the Jews of the world to settle in Palestine in large numbers, can Palestine continue to remain a prosperous place in the world.

We, as American Jews, have the particular obligation to bring pressure upon all authorities concerned to see to it that the doors of Palestine be kept open and that

the infamous British White Paper be abrogated.

Representative Dickstein also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement, supporting the Palestine Resolutions. The Balfour Declaration is a Jewish Magna Charta. Jews' only haven is Palestine, over which Great Britain was given the Mandate, or trusteeship, by the League of Nations. The Anglo-American Convention of 1924, which the British Government violated by issuing the White Paper. Our Government cannot permit such a breach. Palestine Jews have made great contributions to the Allied war effort, while most of the other countries in the Near East have straddled. Urges favorable recommendation of the Resolution. Submits an editorial from the New York Times criticizing the White Paper:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am in hearty support of House Resolution 418 and I see House Resolution 419 is along the same lines. I am in full support of both and I will do everything I can. I think in part the resolution came too late because some action ought to be taken and England ought to wake up and understand we have something to say about the Palestine question. I hope that some future date we will discuss it on the floor.

The Balfour Declaration is a sort of a Magna Carta for the Jewish people of Europe, especially at this time when most of the nations saw fit to indulge in a campaign of extermination and when Hitler and his satellites are doing everything in their power to destroy the Jewish people.

The only place which these people can find to reestablish their lives and to make a new home is Palestine. Palestine is not a British possession. Britain was only given a mandate by the League of Nations, a mandate which makes it a trustee for the benefit of the people of Palestine and which is based on Britain's declaration that "His Majesty's Government will facilitate the establish-

ment in Palestine of a Jewish Home Land."

In 1924 our Government became a "contracting" party to the Palestine mandate. This was effected by a convention signed between the United States and Great Britain, in which there appeared these significant articles:

First. That no discrimination shall be made among the inhabitants of Palestine on the grounds of race or religion or language and that no person should be excluded from Palestine because of his religious beliefs.

Second. This convention could not be modified except with the consent of the United States.

Notwithstanding these specific provisions of our convention with Great Britain, the British Government without consulting us and without obtaining permission from this country issued what is known as the Palestine White Paper.

Under this so-called White Paper, it was provided among other things that Jewish immigration to Palestine should be limited to not more than 75,000 and that this total must be reached by March 31, 1944, after which no Jews would be allowed to enter Palestine. In other words, the Jewish Home Land would be the only place from which Jews would be absolutely barred as Jews—in spite of the fact that Britain solemnly pledged herself to establish a Jewish Home Land in Palestine.

Our Government cannot permit that a friendly government like that of Great Britain should thus flout its own solemn pledge in favor of the Jewish Home Land in Palestine.

It is also of importance to note that while most of the countries in the Near East are straddling and "sitting on the fence," not giving the United Nations the slightest help or cooperation in the war, it is the Jews of Palestine who participate in this war to the fullest extent. They have written a vivid chapter of brilliant, eager, and

courageous participation in the war on the side of the United Nations.

Their self-sacrifice and courage have excited the admiration of the British and American officers under whom these men and women have served.

Pierre van Paassen has called the Jewish participation in the war and the extraordinary heroism displayed by the Jews in Palestine during all of the campaigns in the Near East as "the best-kept secret of this war."

But, the secret is out. There is no question that Britain is entirely unjust in closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish refugees at a time when they need it most.

The New York Times has published an editorial which I am submitting to the committee. The Times is by no means a paper which favors Zionism, nevertheless it has taken the sound view that the British White Paper is at the present time a tremendous mistake.

On the basis of Britain's pledges, as well as for humanitarian reasons which we must not lose sight of, I respectfully urge that the committee recommend favorably the resolution requesting Great Britain to abrogate the White Paper.

(The editorial from The New York Times is as follows:)

THE WHITE PAPER

According to the original provisions of the white paper issued by the British Government on May 17, 1939, Jewish immigration into Palestine was limited to 75,000 for a 5-year period and was due to be stopped completely on March 31, 1944. Even that small quota was not filled because of war conditions, and the terms were modified last November to permit the entry of immigrants who were unable to reach the country before the deadline. But a mere extension of the time limit is not enough. As the end of the 5-year period draws near it is clearer than it was in 1939 that the ban imposed by the British after years of disorder and the failure of the abortive round-table conference was a stopgap rather than a solution of a complex and burning problem.

The case for American intervention in this question is stronger than it was 5 years ago. The presence of our troops and supply depots in the Near East and our vital concern in peace and order in this strategic area give us a greater right to urge that the white paper should now be abrogated. At the time it was published this newspaper opposed the rigid limitation on the flow of immigrants into Palestine as unjust and unacceptable, and everything that has happened since confirms and strengthens that opinion. The increasingly desperate state of those of Jewish faith in Europe has made it more than ever evident that in these tragic years the doors of any place or refuge, instead of being closed to a crack, should have been opened wider.

On the future political status of Palestine there is room for wide and deep divergences of view. This question remains, and promises to remain for a long time to come, one of the most complex and highly charged problems of post-war statesmanship. But it is significant that Jews and non-Jews no matter how much they differ on this point, stand solidly in support of that part of the current congressional resolution that advocates American initiative in seeking to obtain the resumption of immigration. The hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee reveal general agreement on the justice and necessity of removing the white paper ban. This is a fair reflection of public opinion in this country. The final settlement of the Palestine problem fits into the framework of the general peace. It depends on the code of justice and security the victors are able to establish. Meantime there can be no question that humanity and a sense of reality demand that the arbitrary ban should be lifted and immigration should be permitted on the most generous terms possible.

HON. LaVERN R. DILWEG

Representative from Wisconsin

The recent statement of President Roosevelt that "full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home" has been a message of real cheer and encouragement to all fair-minded men and women in the United States.

It would be a tragedy, indeed, if this great struggle in which we all are engaged should end without giving full rights and justice to the small nations. It would be particularly disheartening if the Jewish people, who have suf-

ferred so incredibly from the hands of the brutal enemy, would not be granted the right and the possibility to re-establish their national existence in their historic homeland. Since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the Jews have demonstrated most impressively their ability to rebuild Palestine in a way from which the entire Near East, and perhaps all civilized Mankind will profit.

The United States should give its active support to this undertaking.

HON. JOHN J. DINGELL

Representative from Michigan

Representative Dingell appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement: His appearance indicates Christians' interest. The White Paper shocked the World. Palestine always considered the Jewish Home. The world rejoiced at President Wilson's Zionist stand, thrilled at the Palestine Mandate, the Balfour Declaration and the 1922 Congressional Resolution. The great Jewish achievements in Palestine. Reign of terror there inspired by anti-Semites. British duplicity. Palestine quotas condemned the Jews to a permanent status of a minority, to be dominated by the Arabs. World Jewry should not bow down. The nations of the world will not accept it. The American people are interested. England cannot afford to make the Jews a pawn to gain military advantage. A strong Jewish Palestine would be of the greatest assistance and benefit to England. It is not too late for her to redeem her solemn pledge. Since America is a party to it no change in the Mandate should be made without our assent. Letter to State Secretary Hull.

Mr. Chairman, I want to enter an appearance here and insert in the record my remarks which were made before a congregation of my constituents at Shaarey Zedek Synagogue, on May 21, 1939, under the auspices of the Detroit Zionist Emergency Committee, consisting of all

Zionist organizations in cooperation with the Jewish Community Council.

It served the purpose at that time, I thought, and I think it is appropriate to have it in the record now and I merely offer it, and realizing the pressure of business on the committee, I do not desire to consume any more time.

(The address referred to is as follows:)

Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, I have come here today not alone for the purpose of discussing a grave problem, but also as concrete evidence of my sympathy for you and your cause, and if I can, to help you in the solution of your problem. Moreover, my appearance here today as a member of a Christian faith is intended by me at least to indicate the interest and the concern of my fellow coreligionists toward you in your hour of trial.

Recent pronouncement by the British Government with regard to the proposed political change in the status of Palestine as enunciated by Mr. Chamberlain have not only shocked the world in general but have caused certain elements within it to recoil because of the violation of a solemn pledge. I, for one, cannot accept Mr. Chamberlain's expressions as indicative of the attitude of the English people any more than I could accept the acts of madness on the part of Hitler and Mussolini as being the reflections of the German and Italian peoples. From my earliest childhood I have always been taught to believe that Palestine was the ancestral, the historic, and the God-given land of the Jews; and I was taught, moreover, that it was ordained by God that some day the Jews of the world would return to their homeland. Biblical prophets and sincere and saintly men throughout the ages have prophesied the great homecoming of the Jews back to what in my mind will always be the Holy Land, there to enjoy the peace, happiness, and contentment which for centuries have been denied them by other countries of the world.

Christians and non-Christians, men of fairness throughout the world, rejoiced with you and your oppressed brethren when the great Woodrow Wilson expressed himself in your behalf. The world was thrilled when the Palestinian mandate was drawn. The Balfour Declaration clarified and gave additional substance to a practical, though not a new idea. The expression of the Congress of the United States convinced the world of our American interest in this belated reestablishment of the Jewish homeland.

Great Britain voluntarily—yes, eagerly—assumed a responsi-

bility in the Near East. Great Britain consulted with the Government of the United States along with other Governments, and we have given our approval, our official assent to the course proposed by His Majesty's Government.

Peaceful settlement and development of the ancient land of the Jews began almost immediately, and as persecutions flared throughout Europe, migrations to the Holy Land were increased, under stress of necessity were speeded up, and that portion of Palestine which was peopled by the incoming immigrant Jew was reclaimed from desolation of the desert and became a productive paradise. Men and women became prosperous in their newly found freedom. Industries, hospitals, libraries, and homes were built. Agricultural development advanced at an almost unbelievable rate, both as to quality of the products and increased productivity. Palestine was absorbing more and more of the oppressed, of the persecuted, and of brokenhearted Jews who gathered the remnants of their homes, fortunes, and families, and trekked back to the promised land to their historic home.

The advancement of the Jews in the family of nations seemed to be a certainty. Suddenly, however, the world began to hear of brawls, riots, skirmishes with the inevitable and final British military interference; all of this commotion in the peaceful land inhabited by an unusually peace-loving people. This sudden change was not spontaneous; it was incited. As a matter of fact, we know that it was created by the anti-Semitic dictators in Germany and Italy as retaliation against Britain, and was calculated to embarrass the British Government. A prolonged reign of terror followed in the wake of propaganda, eventually giving Britain no alternative but to interfere with military force. Only recently the whole civilized world was shocked by disclosures which indicate clearly the duplicity of British diplomacy. The world learned that certain promises distinctly contradictory were made on the one hand to the Jews and on the other hand to the Moslem Arabs. Britain toyed with the destiny of the unfortunate Jew. Britain viewed the entire matter as one of expediency and of self-gain, and as time went on this double dealing of Great Britain was brought to light; and at this juncture Mr. Chamberlain authorized the issuance of the so-called white paper, which has for its purpose the nullification and destruction of sacred promises voluntarily given to the Jews and accepted by the world as having been given in good faith and subject to being fulfilled.

The aims, the aspirations for the development of Palestine brought about by substantial migrations of the Jews were now placed in complete jeopardy. The moderate quotas permitted to

enter Palestine well within the ability of the land to absorb and sustain them, are now to be reduced to a negligible minimum. These quotas intended to save the face of the British Government, condemn the Jews to a permanent status of the minority subject to violent hatreds and oppressions by the Arabs who are to be by agreement and understanding masters of your people who sought respite from persecution, who sought the opportunity in the homeland to start life anew, to rehabilitate themselves.

As Dr. Goldman stated recently, Britain condoned and encouraged—yes, became a party to—the proposed establishment of a territorial ghetto in the Near East, in the traditional home of the Jews which would be far more confining and oppressive than any heretofore established on the European Continent.

After a stipulated period of years, England insists that Palestine shall become dominated by the Moslem Arab, that the culture, the development, and the peaceful settlement of the homeland shall be stifled by Arabian influence and control, and this with the full approval of His Majesty's Government. It is not too late for England to recalculate the possibilities of the future, reconsider and make such corrections as would permit the peaceful adjustment of the differences between the Jews and the Arabs. I am confident that if the Government of Great Britain in consultation with other interested nations should call together the parties involved, that a permanent solution is not only possible but absolutely certain. The subjection of the Jews in Palestine can never be a lasting solution of the Jewish-Arab difficulties. The Jews throughout the world will not and should not bow down to it. The nations of the world will not accept it. Bloodshed and the continued reign of terror with the attendant cost of human lives and misery will continue. Britain holds within her hand the possibilities of a just and equitable solution, if she will but deal openly, honestly, and fairly with the Jews and the Arabs.

The people of America interested in a permanent and peaceful solution, being a party to the establishment of Palestine under the mandate, look to Britain, as we have a right, to extend her energies to the utmost in reestablishing tranquility in the Holy Land. England cannot afford, under any circumstances, to make of the Jews a pawn in order to gain a temporary military advantage. As a matter of fact, England should know that her own best move for security and the maintenance of peace in the Near East should be predicated upon the establishment and maintenance of an inviolate Jewish Palestine. The loyalty, the devotion, and the gratitude of the Jews will repay England a thousand-fold for her steadfastness and moral courage. England has lost her

sense of equilibrium. England has been goaded into an action that is against her own best interests. A strong and consistently expanding Jewish Palestine should become the keystone of safety in the arch of the British Empire. I feel that millions of people throughout the world, and particularly in the Western Hemisphere, will sustain that opinion. It is not my purpose today, my friends, to extend myself in an unduly lengthy discourse, but I do want to say before closing that I believe England can be made to, and will, capitulate. It is not too late for her to redeem her solemn pledges.

It is incumbent upon us, however, to assume a militant and aggressive attitude in this matter. It is mandatory that we make known our demands, that we insist upon the scrupulous carrying out of the provisions of the mandate and of the Balfour Declaration.

We, who are privileged to live in this glorious land of freedom, should be the first to offer encouragement to the Jews of Palestine and we should remain steadfast and devoted to the one and only outline which holds promise of permanency and of peace, not only for the Jews but the rest of the world as well. Let us then, Jew and gentile alike, pledge ourselves in accordance with the ancient Jewish psalmist, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning."

Let me add for the benefit of those who do not understand my position, or my viewpoint, and I hope that there are not many who do not, that I feel strongly on the point that inasmuch as America has been a party to the reestablishment of Palestine, that the Government of the United States must of necessity be consulted in any change, modification, or alteration of the original mandate. We have accepted the mandate and the Balfour declaration as sincere and sound. It is my belief that the fairness of the American people toward the Jews will insist that there can be no change without American assent.

I have dispatched a letter of protest to the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, which clearly indicates the position which I have assumed in this matter. For your information, although not at this juncture for publication, I shall read separately the letter in its entirety. I feel that until the Secretary has had an opportunity to reply, that I should in fairness, defer giving publicity to this communication, for it is well known that the American State Department guards jealously its prerogative in matters bearing upon our foreign policy.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., May 20, 1939.

Hon. Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: Recent unfavorable developments pertaining to the future of Palestine have aroused great concern generally among the people of the world and in particular have aroused the citizens of the United States.

The issuance of the so-called white paper by the British Government indicates clearly the abandonment of pledges of permanency given the Jews and accepted by the world as guaranties for the maintenance of Palestine as the historic homeland of these unfortunate and persecuted people. This change in attitude is in direct contravention of the mandate and the subsequent Balfour Declaration.

I hasten to register my most emphatic protest against any modification or alteration of the mandate to which the Government of the United States has given assent and support. I urge therefore to make formal representation to His Majesty's Government demanding at the same time the carrying out of the provisions in accordance with the stipulations contained in the document.

There can be no arbitrary emasculation or change without consultation and agreement among the interested nations. Unilateral action on the part of Great Britain in violation of the rights of the Jews should be denounced and proclaimed as invalid.

Being mindful of the fact that you are charged with the responsibility of our foreign policy I, nevertheless, make these suggestions in the hope that you will use your good offices and bring about the fulfillment of the mandate.

I subscribe myself

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN D. DINGELL

HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN

Representative from Illinois

The tremendous progress which the Jewish National home in Palestine has made since the first World War has greatly impressed America.

A dream for the rehabilitation of an oppressed people has become a reality. That dream, in the shape of a wilder-

ness which has been made to blossom in accordance with the Biblical tradition as, "a land of milk and honey," is now ready to receive additional millions of people. Unfortunately, because of the activities of a madman in Europe, the need for this place of refuge is greater than ever. It will be a great tragedy if these unhappy people who will have to be rehabilitated at the close of the war, do not have the opportunity to settle in Palestine, in order that they may become helpful citizens of this world.

I am confident that the great mass of the American people, and surely all who understand the problem, are anxious that Palestine be established as a Jewish National Homeland. This was the intent of the Allied Governments during and at the close of the World War. It should be the intent of all liberty loving people now, and I am sure that it is the wish of the great majority of Americans.

HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY

Representative from Oklahoma

The massacre of Jews by Hitler's barbarians makes us all turn to the problem confronting that great race. We are profoundly inspired by the contribution they have made to civilization. A determination of Palestine as a homeland for Jews has its international aspects and will be treated in a statesmanlike manner by Congress. I am sure that history will record that wisdom will be expressed in this decision.

HON. JAMES DOMENGEAUX

Representative from Louisiana

I am very much interested in the resolutions and have been associated with the organization which has been working in this connection. Be assured that any assistance

I can give at the present time or as a Member of Congress, to which I expect to be re-elected, will be given in behalf of these resolutions which mean so much to the Jewish people.

HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO

Representative from Michigan

I am in sympathy with the over-all idea of the reestablishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and shall be glad to support it.

HON. FRED J. DOUGLAS

Representative from New York

Representative Douglas sent the following letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives favoring the passage of the Palestine Resolutions:

My Dear Colleague: It is my understanding that House Resolutions 418 and 419, urging the abrogation by Great Britain of the so-called white paper, will come up for public hearings before the committee on Tuesday, February 8, 1944. I shall appreciate it if you will record me as favoring the passage of these resolutions in the printed hearings.

HON. PATRICK H. DREWRY

Representative from Virginia

I desire to say that if the Jews as a race wish the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, I would be most heartily in favor of doing what I could to accomplish that desire.

You may be sure that I will give the resolution now pending every consideration in my power.

HON. CARL T. DURHAM

Representative from North Carolina

It is my opinion that the establishment of a National Home for Jews is a step in the right direction.

HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK

Representative from Idaho

In view of the action taken by the Republican National Convention at Chicago on this question, it will not be necessary for individual statements by members of Congress. I have been greatly interested in this campaign, but prefer to await some definite action by the party, which will likely be forthcoming soon.

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

Representative from Pennsylvania

I am happy to say that I am of the opinion that the formation of a Jewish State in Palestine would be helpful in solving many problems of the future.

Representative Eberharter also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement expressing his interest in the passage of the Resolutions. Strong opposition to the White Paper in the British Parliament. It is in violation of the Mandate over Palestine and of the Anglo-American Convention. It is absolutely illegal. Passage of the Resolutions will be helpful to Great Britain to solve the problem and is a proper move for the American Congress. The whole world will approve the establishing of a Jewish Home in Palestine and ultimately a Jewish Commonwealth there.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before this very distinguished committee, a committee which will have

before it in the next few years to come the most important questions that will come before the Congress. I am happy that my service on this committee for some years which terminated just a few months ago, has given me an opportunity to know and value its true worth and also to know that any of the problems that do come before it will be considered in a non-partisan and statesmanlike manner, having simply the best interests of the country in mind.

I am thankful for this opportunity to make a few extemporaneous remarks in respect to these resolutions. Members of the committee will recall that on a previous occasion in a public hearing this very subject came up and at that time I expressed my interest in it and my hearty approval of the principle that is set forth in these resolutions.

I could, of course, Mr. Chairman, develop a very lengthy argument this morning in support of my reasons for being very vitally interested in the passage of these resolutions, but there are many others who will appear before the committee who have practically lived with this subject for many years, and I know that they are more able to present logically what I deem to be unanswerable reasons why this committee and the Congress should pass these resolutions unanimously.

The chairman, of course, I feel is to be commended very highly for his wisdom and foresight in having prepared in advance for study by members of the committee this pamphlet which contains the important and relevant facts relative to this very difficult problem, and yet it is not so difficult but that if it were tackled in the right way I believe it could be solved to the satisfaction of the world and all mankind.

Mr. Johnson. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Chairman Bloom. Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. I want to concur in what you said with reference to the chairman's compilation of these documents in this pamphlet, and it is not only valuable for the use of this committee, but it has historical data and knowledge in it which will cause many of us to want to preserve it.

Mr. Eberharter. Thank you, Mr. Johnson. In that connection I might add that we have so often seen the chairman, Mr. Bloom, go above and beyond the call of duty in this manner that we almost come to expect such extra effort on his part as a matter of course. He has been extraordinarily diligent and conscientious in seeing that the committee is fully informed on the matters under consideration, particularly those somewhat akin to the subject now before you, while at the same time exhibiting and acting in a strictly impartial manner. The committee is fortunate in this respect, as are the witnesses who have appeared in the past and will appear in the future.

I think I might now call particular attention of the committee to the fact that when the White Paper was issued in 1939 there was very, very strong opposition to it in the Parliament of Great Britain, and that opposition was heard and presented what I deem to be very compelling arguments as to the wrong position then being taken by the dominant party in Great Britain at that time, and if I might be permitted, I would just like to read a few lines from the address on May 23, 1939, in the House of Commons by the Right Honorable Stanley Morrison when he was opposing the approval of this White Paper in the House of Commons.

Chairman Bloom. Will you give the page number from which you are reading?

Mr. Eberharter. This is on page 70 of the pamphlet to

which I have referred. Speaking of this White Paper he said:

If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern, and which is dangerous to British security, to peace, and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work.

Mr. Chipfield. Will the gentlemen yield at that point?

Mr. Eberharter. Yes; I shall be glad to.

Chairman Bloom. Mr. Chipfield.

Mr. Chipfield. Do you feel, then, that the White Paper is in violation of the convention between the United States and Great Britain, and especially article 7, where it says:

Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States.

Mr. Eberharter. I think it is absolutely in violation of the mandate under which Great Britain was given mandatory powers over Palestine. I think it is not only in violation of the mandate of the Council of the League of Nations, but it is also in violation of the convention to which the gentleman has just referred. I think it is absolutely illegal. Other gentlemen will present in a very clear and concise manner proof of the illegality of this White Paper by Great Britain.

I believe this, Mr. Chairman, that the passage of these resolutions by the Congress will be helpful to Great Britain itself in the solving of this problem.

I also believe that the passage of these resolutions by the Congress of the United States is a proper move on our part, particularly in view of the terms of the convention of 1925 between Great Britain and the United States,

and of the patent illegality of the White Paper, and I think it is proper also because the United States is looked upon as a leader in the world, insofar as humanitarian principles are concerned. It is the humane and moral thing for this country to do toward solving this great problem.

I think the whole world will approve of the passage of these resolutions, and the whole world will also approve of the setting up of not only what may be called a Jewish national home in Palestine, but also of the commencement of moves for the ultimate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, which will fit in with the aspirations of the Jews of the entire world.

HON. ALFRED J. ELLIOTT

Representative from California

I am in favor of providing a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The resolution now pending before the United States Congress will be given early consideration just as soon as military conditions will permit.

I can assure you of my support to the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

HON. HUBERT S. ELLIS

Representative from West Virginia

I have freely expressed my sympathy with the Jewish people of my district in their aspiration for a Homeland in Palestine.

The Republican Party in convention in Chicago subscribed to the Jewish-Palestine Program and I, as a Republican, am in full accord with our position as stated in the platform.

HON. DANIEL ELLISON

Representative from Maryland

Representative Ellison appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement in support of the Resolutions.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to be recorded in support of House Resolutions 418 and 419.

The white paper issued by the Chamberlain government in 1939 was in direct violation of Great Britain's solemn pledges, and in contravention of the terms of the mandate.

Moreover, from the humanitarian point of view favorable action on these resolutions would be in line with our unbroken policy since the Balfour Declaration of favoring the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish national homeland.

I, therefore, hope that your committee will report favorably on these resolutions.

HON. CHARLES H. ELSTON

Representative from Ohio

I desire to advise that I am wholeheartedly in accord with the objectives of these resolutions and have heretofore urged the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to report favorably on them to the House. As a matter of fact, I was one of the early members of the American Palestine Committee which sponsored this legislation. Sometime ago we were informed that because of Administration pressure these resolutions were to be tabled indefinitely. Therefore, unless the President causes such opposition to be withdrawn, we will have no opportunity to vote upon this question.

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

Representative from California

In my opinion simple justice entitles the Jewish people to a national homeland in Palestine, and I fully support the objective of opening Palestine to Jewish immigration and building of a National Jewish Homeland.

HON. JAMES H. FAY

Representative from New York

Please count me as one who is working in the ranks to support the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

Representative from Ohio

When victory is won, the United Nations must make the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Declaration a vital and effective force for lasting peace throughout the world.

It is my earnest hope that a homeland in Palestine will be provided for the Jewish people.

HON. FRANK FELLOWS

Representative from Maine

The plight of our Jewish brethren in those countries where prejudice and hate have made life wretched and death welcome has the sympathy of all right-thinking people, and has their hope ultimately to reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish haven and home.

HON. IVOR D. FENTON

Representative from Pennsylvania

If adopted, the House and Senate Resolutions would reaffirm a similar resolution adopted by Congress in 1922 and would seek to set aside provisions of the "British White Paper" of 1939 which will bar further entry of Jews into Palestine after March 31st.

It might be added that adoption of the resolutions would give congressional support to restoration of non-restricted immigration of Jews into Palestine, which intelligent and unbiased observers close to the situation which exists feel is the only solution to the anti-Semitic problem in Europe.

I am pleased to advise you that the House Resolutions when called up for action in the House will have my whole-hearted support as I am in full sympathy with plans for immediate action to save the surviving people of Europe from extermination at the hands of Nazi Germany.

HON. JAMES M. FITZPATRICK

Representative from New York

If ever there was a time that the British Government should carry out their promise to establish a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, it is now.

I have on several occasions signed petitions to the President and the Secretary of State, requesting them to intercede with England in the establishment of such a Home. I also appeared recently before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and advocated the passage of the Wright-Compton Resolutions, H. Res. 418 and 419.

I hope that such a Home will be established and that when the United States and her Allies attain victory in

this war, justice will be extended to all the Jewish people throughout the world.

Representative Fitzpatrick also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement urging the Committee to report the Resolutions favorably.

HON. JOHN W. FLANNAGAN, JR.

Representative from Virginia

The Jewish people are entitled to a country of their own. I am strongly in favor of the opening of Palestine to unrestricted immigration and colonization so that the Jewish people may be able to establish a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

Representative from Rhode Island

I assure you that I am wholeheartedly in accord with the purpose of the Jewish National Home Program. I believe the British White Paper is wrong in principle and my support can be counted on.

HON. JOHN H. FOLGER

Representative from North Carolina

If the Jewish people anywhere feel that they are a people without a national home, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and Democratic Commonwealth is deemed feasible and desirable, I shall be pleased to yield to such a desire, even though I feel that the Jewish people, particularly of our own country, should feel that they have a home here as much as anyone else. Every natural born American and every naturalized American should be made to feel, and never to doubt, that he has a home in

the United States. This feeling on my part has given me hesitancy in suggesting, even indirectly, that the Jewish people of the United States should feel that a place, even Palestine, should necessarily be declared a home for the Jewish people, even those within our own country.

HON. AIME J. FORAND

Representative from Rhode Island

Thank you for affording me an opportunity to join with other Members of Congress in expressing our deep concern at the plight of the Jewish people of Europe.

The effort being made to solve permanently the problems of the Jewish people through the development of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine is, to my mind, one worthy of our support. The drive to bring about the realization of this hope must go on to a successful conclusion.

HON. THOMAS F. FORD

Representative from California

I want you to know that I have personally taken up with high officials in the State Department the question as to our Government's making the strongest possible representations to the British Government as to the wisdom and fairness of abrogating the British White Paper.

It is my firm conviction that when peace terms are decided upon, our representatives should insist on the persecuted Jews of Europe being given a permanent Home, with protection against future injustices.

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Representative from Arkansas

I assure you that I am completely in favor of opening

Palestine as a haven for the persecuted Jews as expressed in House Resolutions 418-419.

HON. GRANT FURLONG

Representative from Pennsylvania

I firmly believe that the British should be prevailed upon to open Palestine to the Jews for full colonization and eventual establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth there. Every decent and fair-minded American should support these Resolutions. This will provide those unfortunate European Jewish refugees with a Home where they could live in Peace, Happiness, and free from fear of continued unjust persecutions.

From the earliest dawn of light Palestine was known as the Homeland of the Jew, and it will be again.

I will also appear before the Committee to voice my opinion. You may count upon my full-hearted support.

HON. RICHARD P. GALE

Representative from Minnesota

After the Balfour Declaration, after years of hope, toil, struggle and irrepressible spirit, the Jewish Homeland must not be lost. In the Postwar era, Palestine must flourish under Jewish direction and Jewish control.

HON. JAMES GALLAGHER

Representative from Pennsylvania

The plight of these unfortunate people has touched me deeply and I shall certainly do everything I can in my official capacity as a Member of the House of Representatives to further the movement of the American Palestine Committee to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE

Representative from New York

Congress has long been on record as favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. The plight of the cruelly persecuted Jews of Europe makes such a haven even more necessary today. I am sure that it is the wish of the American people of all faiths and I earnestly hope that the diplomatic and military considerations, despite the present position taken by these departments for "announced military problems," will not prevent its accomplishment at an early date.

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART,

Representative from California

Since the close of World War I, every American President has repeatedly urged the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, this in accordance with a well-defined American policy which was enunciated in an unanimously adopted Resolution of the Congress as long ago as 1922.

Though the necessity has ever been great, never in modern history was the need for the erection of a Jewish Commonwealth as urgent as it is today.

Vigorous support of this most worthy movement at this time when world adjustments are under consideration everywhere, not only within the United States, but throughout the world, will contribute much toward the solution of the problems of a post-war world. Let us give our attention to it for indeed the hour is propitious.

HON. CHARLES L. GERLACH

Representative from Pennsylvania

I believe the so-called MacDonald White Paper is a

grave error on the part of the British Government, and I hope that the United States may urge the powers that be in Great Britain to repeal this unfair mandate.

While we are all united in striving for a complete victory over aggression, and a just peace thereafter, it is true that we must consider the special problems of the minorities. In this view, I sincerely hope that the Jewish race be given representation and consideration at the peace table, and that Palestine may be opened to the race as a Homeland, so recognized by the great powers of the world.

HON. CHARLES L. GIFFORD

Representative from Massachusetts

I am in full agreement with you respecting the Palestine situation. I shall be glad to do anything I possibly can to assist in passing the pending House Resolution.

HON. FRED C. GILCHRIST

Representative from Iowa

Jewish people should have a Home where they can be secure from exploitation and where they can live their religious lives in freedom from persecution.

HON. DEAN M. GILLESPIE

Representative from Colorado

I have been concerned with the plight of the Jewish people in oppressed areas for many years. In whatever way I could, I associated myself with efforts to bring to fruition democratic processes and equality of privileges. I have seen the readiness with which many of my Jewish friends have accepted the opportunity to build in Palestine a home for their unfortunate co-religionists, and have

been attracted to that goal as humanitarian, hopeful and practical.

The White Paper struck me as a failure to keep the promise made to the Jewish people. The people of the United States have a vital interest in the sacredness of international obligations and if they know the facts there is nothing to be feared from their decision. The problem is getting the truth regarding this matter to them so that they will understand it.

We are particularly concerned with regard to Palestine, for our pledged word stands back of the Jewish efforts, that have been expended there. I feel that Congress, as the chosen representatives of the people of our country, should give expression to our interest in the right of the Jewish people to build as fully and as freely as they can. Such an expression by the Congress of the United States would be evidence again of our readiness to help achieve a large measure of peace and opportunity after the war. I believe that the Resolutions that have been introduced in Congress for the creation of a free and independent Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine express the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, and I hope that they will be adopted.

HON. WILSON D. GILLETTE

Representative from Pennsylvania

The rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth may have seemed to be an utopian or romantic dream a generation ago.

Today it has become a reality which has proved to the world that the concept of Zionism is one of true statesmanship. Actually no other scheme has saved as many human lives from Hitler terror.

Sympathy and common sense motivate the American people in supporting the plan to reestablish Palestine as a Home for the Jews. We shall not fail them.

HON. GEORGE W. GILLIE

Representative from Indiana

The people of Israel have never surrendered their claim to Palestine. The hope of their return to the home of their fathers, reiterated in their daily prayers, has contributed in large measure to Jewish survival throughout the many centuries of suffering and unjust persecution.

This is an hour of world crisis when Jewish history has reached a most tragic climax. We, the people of the United States wish to reassert by words and deeds our firm conviction that the re-creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is a real challenge to everyone who takes the teachings of Christianity and democracy seriously.

The return of a large sector of the Jewish people to Palestine will bring blessings, not only to them, but equally to the nations of the Near East who need the stimulation by more advanced Western civilization.

HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN

Representative from Massachusetts

Prominent on the agenda of every Congressman zealous to see progress made toward a better Post-War World must be an active and continuing participation in the program for the development of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON

Representative from Illinois

As one who has given much thought and careful study to the question of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, I welcome this opportunity to express my views on this great humanitarian project.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I took a deep interest in the hearings on the Palestine Resolutions and have made a very careful study of the data made available to the Committee on this subject.

I am convinced of the justice and the merit involved in the Jewish aspirations in connection with the up-building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and I join with you in looking forward to the time when this age-old goal and ambition of the Jewish people may become a reality, and provide a permanent haven and home for that group of the world's population, which has done so much to enrich the culture and civilized progress of mankind.

HON. MARTIN GORSKI

Representative from Illinois

The common people of the world face a common foe and a common destiny in a common fight. This unity of effort and purpose will not be destroyed ever.

We are fighting for the right to live and to survive for all the nations of the earth. We shall certainly not forget the Jewish people who have shed so much blood in the common struggle. The Jews desire to reconstitute Palestine, their national home. We desire to give them our willing support, encouragement and active assistance in their undertaking.

HON. LOUIS E. GRAHAM
Representative from Pennsylvania

No movement designed to give relief to the millions of Jewish people is of greater importance than the opening of Palestine to their immigration and settlement as a Homeland, where undisturbed they can work out their destiny in safety, happiness and security.

This they desire to do and every encouragement should be given them in this worthy undertaking.

I trust that their hopes and prayers will be realized in the near future.

HON. WALTER K. GRANGER
Representative from Utah

I have always felt that the Jewish people have an inherent right in the land of Palestine. Furthermore, I feel that they should be allowed to return to the Promised Land and build a National Home. They should be free to organize a democratic form of government, free from interference from other nations. The events of the last few years emphasize the necessity that they be allowed to return immediately.

The Plank in the Democratic Platform, recently adopted in Chicago, should prove helpful in securing the passage of the so-called Palestine Resolution now pending in the Congress of the United States. Needless to say, the Resolution will have my wholehearted support.

GEORGE M. GRANT
Representative from Alabama

I am in sympathy with the House Resolution No. 418 favoring the establishment of a permanent Homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine and shall give this proposal my best consideration.

HON. ROBERT A. GRANT

Representative from Indiana

May I assure you of my support for these resolutions. On one of my trips back home, I had the privilege of talking to some of my friends about this highly important problem. Just before returning, they presented me with a copy of Pierre Van Passen's "The Forgotten Ally." I have read that book, and I am sure I will never forget it. It is difficult to believe that the story therein related could happen in a twentieth-century enlightened civilization.

HON. LEX GREEN

Representative from Florida

I am in accord with the purposes of this great Committee (American Palestine Committee) and have had an opportunity in Washington to attend meetings in connection with the furtherance of these purposes. I am, of course, violently against the White Paper of 1939. You may depend upon my cooperation and support of every proposal and effort leading to same.

HON. P. W. GRIFFITHS

Representative from Ohio

I unhesitatingly personally approve the development of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. It is our duty as American citizens to insist upon the fulfillment in its entirety of the Balfour Declaration.

HON. CHESTER H. GROSS

Representative from Pennsylvania

As much as I sympathize with the persecuted Jewish people of Europe and would like to see them have a haven

somewhere. I am not sure that we Americans should be urging the opening up of Palestine, for the very good reason that Palestine belongs to England and apparently fears the opposition which this might create among the Arabs. Certainly, if there is no other place for the Jews to establish a homeland or nation of their own then perhaps England is duty-bound to make this possible. At any rate, my human interest compels me to lend my support to any cause that will bring relief to the Jewish people.

HON. JOHN W. GWYNNE

Representative from Iowa

As set out in Resolutions now pending in Congress it is my belief that the United States should take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for the entry of the Jews into that country. There should be given full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth. I should be glad to assist in every way possible in obtaining this objective.

HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN

Representative from Minnesota

The American people, composed of men and women who or whose ancestors fled from unjust persecution to these shores, have a very vivid feeling of sympathy for those who have been subjugated by the enemy. We have often demonstrated that we are awake to the challenge which injustice means to us, regardless to the place where or the group to whom it is inflicted.

The American people have learned that the Jewish National Home has made a real and a lasting contribution to the solution of the Jewish problem in the world.

We shall in the future, as we did in the past, give help

to those who rebuild their historic home, peacefully and constructively.

HON. ROBERT HALE

Representative from Maine

It has always seemed to me appropriate that there should be a National Homeland for the Jews in Palestine. This need not mean that the rights of Arab citizens of Palestine should be ignored. The differences between the two peoples are not irreconcilable. I hope that the White Paper will be abrogated and Jewish immigration into Palestine again permitted. This was promised by the Balfour Declaration, which by special agreement, was made unalterable save by American consent.

HON. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL

Representative from New York

Ever since I have been familiar with the question of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine, I have been an ardent supporter of the idea of having the doors of Palestine opened for the homeless and persecuted Jews wherever they may be. I believe it is high time to urge the British definitely to establish Palestine as a Jewish Homeland and you may be sure I stand ready to lend my support to this worthy objective.

Representative Hall also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives favoring a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

Representative from Indiana

I favor the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and will do what I can to bring about the accomplishment of that objective.

HON. CLARENCE E. HANCOCK

Representative from New York

Congress has long been on record as favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. The plight of the cruelly persecuted Jews of Europe makes such a haven even more necessary today. I am sure that it is the wish of the American people of all faiths and I earnestly hope that diplomatic and military considerations will not prevent its accomplishment at an early date.

HON. BUTLER B. HARE

Representative from South Carolina

The return of the Jewish people to Palestine is a plausible proposal and they should be encouraged to resettle and re-build their homeland. My feeling is that all nations will join and cooperate in any definite and bona fide program in such an effort, but if it is to be only a place to call home and be used as a spring-board for territorial expansion or other selfish purposes the movement will be nothing more than a flash in the pan.

HON. RICHARD F. HARLESS

Representative from Arizona

I feel that the Jewish people should have a national home and I see no reason why this should not be established in Palestine. I am not sufficiently familiar with the contents of the "White Paper" to make any comments on it. Of course, as you know, treaties and agreements with foreign governments are handled in the Senate.

In the circumstances I do not know just what power the House would have to act in connection with this

matter. However, insofar as I am concerned, I am in accord with the idea that Palestine should become the national home for your people.

HON. WINDER R. HARRIS

Representative from Virginia

I have been sincerely interested in this movement for a number of years. I think the demand to abrogate the White Paper and permit the continued admission of Jewish refugees into Palestine is based on right and justice. I believe that to enforce the White Paper would violate a solemn obligation made by the British Government in the Balfour Declaration and which the United States Government formerly endorsed. I strongly feel that this Government should use its influence with Great Britain to the end that the Balfour Declaration be carried out. Congress should adopt the Resolutions to that end which are now pending in the House and Senate committees. I am exerting myself, along with a large number of colleagues, in that direction, and I am hopeful that we shall be able to succeed. There is no other solution available in the near future to the problem of the pitiable homeless Jews of Europe than through the opening of the doors of Palestine. They must be kept open.

Representative Harris also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives submitting the following points to be incorporated in the Record: The Palestine Resolution embodies a noble cause. It became necessary because of the White Paper. A Jewish Commonwealth was promised in the Balfour Declaration. The determination of the Commonwealth may wait until after victory but not Jewish entry into Palestine. The Four Freedoms would become a mockery. Palestine, and no other land, demonstrated its success in colonizing the homeless Jews. The White Paper was born of a policy to appease

the Arabs, which is no longer necessary. Arabs never joined the war. Jews contributed generously. At the Peace Table the Palestine Mandate should be reviewed; it was misused. The White Paper held by many as illegal. America has a definite obligation in the matter because of the Congress Resolution of 1922 and the Anglo-American Treaty. Every President from Wilson to Roosevelt favored the Palestine project. Objection to the White Paper is not offending the British Government because it was condemned by Britain's leaders, including Winston Churchill, who should now make good his condemnatory statement.

Mr. Chairman, I bespeak an opportunity to record my strong views in support of pending proposal relative to the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

This is a noble cause in which all persons concerned with human rights and plain, four-square justice should take an active interest. The expression of interest by the United States in the creation of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, as provided in the resolutions before this committee, is made urgently necessary by the fact that the MacDonald White Paper of May 17, 1939, is approaching its effective date, which would mean that after this month, Jewish immigration into Palestine would have to stop, unless Arab consent were obtained, and that the Jewish population in this refuge from the tyrannies of unconscionable dictators and inflamed nationalist majorities would be forced into a permanently restricted minority state.

That would be a far cry from the Commonwealth definitely promised in the Balfour Declaration and of which the Jewish people had a right to expect fulfillment.

It may not be possible to attain the full goal—the establishment of the Commonwealth—at this time, but it certainly should be possible to keep open the doors of Palestine to those who need so urgently to find there surcease from persecution and succor. It may be good policy, in the light of the practicalities of international politics, to leave the question of a Commonwealth for determination after victory in the War of Liberty is won. But with all of the tortures and suffering the Jewish people are undergoing in Europe today, in view of all the talk the United Nations leaders are indulging in about self-determination, fairness, and justice to all peoples—about minorities and even the citizens of defeated lands—to say, in the midst of the present struggle for freedom, we are going to deny to the homeless Jews the right already given to them to establish a national home—and going

still farther and say they cannot even migrate to the refuge which has been set up for them.

The Four Freedoms about which we prate so much would become a hollow mockery and a sham, were we in the United States to take such a stand.

There are a million and a half nationless Jews, according to statistics which I have seen. Where are they going to be absorbed, if not in Palestine? Immigration barriers and economic conditions combine to make it certain that only a few of these pitiable people are going to be taken into other countries. Yet, they cannot possibly remain with any degree of safety in the countries which have shown hearty approval of a policy of extermination.

We hear much about establishing freedom from fear. The homeless Jews never could be free from fear for a single moment, if they were forced to go back and take up their homes among the people who have been taught to hate them. Reinstatement of these refugees on a basis of equality is impossible, under existing deplorable conditions.

Palestine is a demonstrated success as a colonization project. It is the rightful place for the nationless Jews to go. We must not let the doors be shut against them.

There is no question about the fact that the White Paper had its birth in that shameful period of appeasement which merely fed the warlike appetites of ruthless aggressors. It was promulgated in the same spirit of timidity that produced the destruction of Czechoslovakia. The Arab uprising undoubtedly was fomented by Germany and Italy. We then could see that the Near East was going to be an important area in the war. Great Britain might have had on its hands more than it could handle if the Arab terrorists were not appeased and succeeded in stirring up anti-British sentiment, and attempted to throw the country into the hands of the Axis powers.

But the situation is entirely different now. The Arab terrorists can do the Allies no harm militarily. They never have joined the war, even though Egypt actually was invaded.

In sharp and glorious contrast, little Palestine has contributed generously of its manpower and resources.

The United Nations are amply able to say to the Arabs: "There will be no appeasement this time, justice and right are going to prevail. There is plenty of available and sparsely settled territory for you. An amicable adjustment can and must be worked out that will make possible the establishment of a National Jewish Homeland in Palestine."

When the freedom-loving, victorious Allied Nations foregather

about the peace table, the Palestine mandate should be reviewed. There is serious question as to whether it has not been actually misused. The White Paper itself has been declared by many authorities to be illegal.

The United States has a definite obligation in this matter. The Balfour Declaration was issued after consultation with the United States. Congress added its sanction in a joint resolution which said:

"The United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

A special treaty with Great Britain, after rejection of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant, incorporated the text of the Palestine Mandate, which included the Balfour Declaration.

Moreover, every President from Woodrow Wilson down to Franklin D. Roosevelt has given favorable expression to the Palestine project.

It is highly important, too, to keep in mind that in giving sympathy and support to the present movement to prevent the White Paper from being made effective after this month, there can be no question of offering offense to the present British Government, for the very plain and simple reason that the leaders of the present British Government condemned the White Paper in the strongest terms when it was issued. Mr. Winston Churchill himself said in Parliamentary debate on May 23, 1939:

"There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, but I will not trouble about that. I select the one point upon which there is plainly a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration—the provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years' time by the decision of the Arab majority."

Mr. Churchill should make good on that statement. The United States should do what it consistently can to bring him to that action.

The day of liberation is close at hand for the victims of Axis conquest on the Continent of Europe—and in the Far East. This same day of liberation should make freemen of the Jews of Europe who have escaped torture and death, and who have fought to survive until victory comes.

Let there be no hypocritical peace, with freedom for only a part of the people of the world.

The Atlantic Charter solemnly promises that all men in all lands shall be allowed to live out their lives in freedom.

The doors of Palestine must be reopened—and kept open.

HON. EDWARD J. HART

Representative from New Jersey

I am heartily in favor of these Resolutions and will gladly support them when and if they are reported to the House for action.

HON. FRED A. HARTLEY, Jr.

Representative from New Jersey

I have always been and still am in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth. To my way of thinking, it would be an act of justice on the part of all the nations of the world to permit the Jewish people to return to their ancient homeland, where they may re-establish themselves as a matter of right and not sufferance; where they can find security and safety for themselves and their brethren, and where they may have an opportunity, as they did in ancient days, to contribute to the culture of the world.

HON. F. EDWARD HEBERT

Representative from Louisiana

In the tolerant world of tomorrow "The Wandering Jew" should be only a memory of the intolerant world of yesterday. If America and her Allies are sincere in establishing "The Four Freedoms" throughout the world, certainly the Jew should not be excluded from consideration.

The Jew has a right as any other man or race to make his stake on this earth and say, "This is My Home."

HON. JAMES J. HEFFERNAN

Representative from New York

I wish to be recorded as supporting the Palestine Resolution. The persecution of the Jewish people in Europe

has demonstrated the need for a Jewish Homeland and I believe that the United States should do everything it can to permit free entry of the Jews into Palestine. Such a procedure is humane and necessary at this time. You can rest assured that I shall do everything within my power to put it into effect.

Representative Heffernan also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement reaffirming his support of the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. JAMES V. HEIDINGER

Representative from Illinois

I whole-heartedly approve the need for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

The Jews should be permitted to return to the home of their fathers. One of the great objectives of our present war is to provide a world in which minorities may be safe to live at peace, and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth will be a great step toward the accomplishment of this end.

HON. JOE HENDRICKS

Representative from Florida

I think there is no question but what there should be developed a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. Palestine is the home of a race which is roaming the world. That home should be returned to them for their own peace and safety. Any race can be better protected in their rights if they have a government of their own and have diplomatic representatives in the capitols of the world. I therefore feel very strongly that the Jewish race should build their own nation in Palestine.

HON. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

Representative from Massachusetts

The re-opening of the doors of Palestine so as to permit resettlement there of the uprooted and homeless Jews of Europe is of the highest moment and the utmost urgency. The present plight of these tortured survivors of the Nazi war of extermination is a challenge to our boasted promise that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Representative Herter also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement that in September 1943, he drafted a Palestine Resolution which was not, however, introduced into the House.

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

Representative from Ohio

I approve of the entire Republican Platform adopted in Chicago, including the plank on Palestine, and trust that arrangements can be made so that the Jewish people may enjoy their own homeland following the war.

HON. CARL HINSHAW

Representative from California

Jews throughout the world will rejoice when they have achieved their rightful interests in Palestine under the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

HON. DANIEL K. HOCH

Representative from Pennsylvania

As a boy I recall a Sunday School class when the teacher prophesied that Palestine someday would be a Jewish Commonwealth. He asserted that the Bible prophesied this.

Ever since I have felt that such a consummation would be ideal. The movement, of course, as in the case with all such movements does not proceed smoothly. I feel confident, however, that eventually the Jewish people will come into their own.

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

Representative from Iowa

The 67th Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

The ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish Homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution.

Lovers of humanity throughout the world hope that the day of liberation for the Jews may not be far distant.

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

Representative from California

I pledge my sincere support to the Wright-Compton Resolution and will continue to cooperate with those who are fighting for the free entry of the Jewish people into Palestine.

Representative Holifield also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives urging favorable report on the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. PEHR G. HOLMES

Representative from Massachusetts

The Holy Land, which has given inspiration and faith to so many generations, has become again a source of

reconstruction and rehabilitation to those millions who have been uprooted so mercilessly by the enemy of Western Civilization.

Since the first World War, the United States of America have given staunch support to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. World War number two, which has re-emphasized the tragic problems which we failed to solve twenty-five years ago, must bring the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. This is the only constructive and permanent solution to the Jewish problem.

I shall do all that is in my power to contribute to the achievement of this splendid goal.

HON. WALT HORAN

Representative from Washington

Naturally I will support the Republican platform—especially since I had already committed my support to the Compton Resolution.

Any move that will get at the causes of Hate-movements and eradicate them shall receive my support. This means an especial responsibility to you.

HON. ED. V. IZAC

Representative from California

A Jewish National Home in Palestine is both logical and necessary. I can't understand the reasoning of any who would oppose such a plan. We Americans especially should do all in our power to encourage it because we claim for ourselves a similar right—the right to develop and prosper in our own way of life in our own homeland.

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

Representative from Washington

Through following the developments in regard to Jewish affairs all over the world, I have come to the conclusion that the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine would be a great stride forward in the solution of the Jewish problem.

Of course, the destruction of Nazism in all its phases is a necessary prerequisite to the ending of Jewish persecution.

In view of Dr. Lowdermilk's report stating that Palestine could easily support four million more people through land reclamation, the opening of free immigration there would not only mean giving the Jewish people a homeland but would help rebuild the country to a prosperous, happy land for Jew and Arab alike.

If in any way, through my offices as a Congressman, I can forward the work of making the dream of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine come true, you can count on my most earnest efforts in this great humanitarian cause.

HON. PETE JARMAN

Representative from Alabama

I have long been in deep sympathy with the unfortunate situation which the Jewish people of Europe find themselves as a result of the incredibly inhuman barbarism of Hitler. Consequently, I entered the hearings on House Resolutions 418 and 419 in a very sympathetic attitude and with the sincere hope that the testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee would thoroughly justify my active support of these resolutions.

Unfortunately, this did not occur. On the other hand, despite the volume of testimony in their behalf, I very

much regretted that sufficient good reasons were presented against their passage at this time to cause discontinuation of the hearings. When or if these reasons cease to exist, I shall be glad for the committee to take the matter up again.

HON. HARRY P. JEFFREY

Representative from Ohio

You may be assured that I am strongly in favor of these Resolutions and will work in their behalf. Every thinking person realizes the awful plight of the Jewish people in Europe today and the need for some farsighted policy which will afford real relief.

HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS

Representative from Ohio

I sincerely hope that this program for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine may work out successfully. I am hopeful that it will be the solution of a problem that has become a serious one not only for the Jewish people but for the world in general.

HON. JOHN JENNINGS, JR.

Representative from Tennessee

I favor the Resolution putting the United States of America on record in support of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. This project shall have my continued support.

No race has made a greater contribution to the spiritual and intellectual development of the people of this earth than the Jewish race. Their tragic suffering under the fanatical oppression of Hitler and his cohorts throughout the world has shocked the conscience of all right-thinking people.

I shall vote to pass the pending Palestine Resolution at the earliest possible moment.

HON. CALVIN D. JOHNSON

Representative from Illinois

I assure you that I am ready to lend assistance wherever possible to bring about a reopening of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

I believe, however, that your national organization should prevail directly upon the President to bring about this concession, as a protest from him, filed with Prime Minister Churchill, would without question bring the desired results.

Assuring you of my cooperation and continued interest in helping you and your people to achieve your aims.

HON. JED JOHNSON

Representative from Oklahoma

I agree with the views of your organization concerning the British White Paper on Palestine, and will be glad to assist in every way possible in the matter.

HON. LUTHER A. JOHNSON

Representative from Texas

I am interested in the permanent solution of the Jewish problems and feel that a great work has been done in the furtherance of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and hope that this work may be continued and expanded.

HON. NOBLE J. JOHNSON

Representative from Indiana

Again and again, I have stated that I am convinced that the claim for a free and democratic Jewish Common-

wealth in Palestine is justly worthy of American support. I am heartily and definitely in favor of the aspiration and ideals of the Zionist movement.

When H. Res. 418/419 reach the floor of the House, I shall gladly vote for them.

HON. BARTEL J. JONKMAN

Representative from Michigan

My attitude towards the Jewish National Home in Palestine has been a matter of record for years. That objective has always had my approval and support. I do and shall continue to lend my support in favoring the attainment of the ideal of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, especially in view of the success which has crowned the efforts up to the present time.

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

Representative from Minnesota

I have always been sympathetic to the project of building up a Jewish National Home. How can the so-called Jewish Problem and the persecutions of Jews ever be ended until they have a National Home to which those so desiring can go and have full independence? The truly remarkable job of making the deserts of Palestine blossom as the rose shows what can be done there. I very much hope a reasonable plan can be agreed upon by all concerned so as to bring this to pass at the earliest possible moment.

HON. ROBERT W. KEAN

Representative from New Jersey

The plight of the Jewish populations of Europe is a tragedy which deserves sympathy and consideration. I

sincerely hope that those who wish to do so may be able to find refuge in the Jewish Homeland, and I will be glad to support legislation to make this possible.

HON. BERNARD W. (PAT) KEARNEY

Representative from New York

It is the generally accepted belief that Palestine is the land of the Jews, and that it should serve as a refuge for Jews from all nations. A fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world would be made by the Jewish people through full cooperation with the peoples of the Near East, and by the economic development of the resources of the Jordan Valley, which are capable of supporting several million people. This latter project in itself offers a solution to the Jewish refugee problem, as well as exhibiting to the other nations of the world that through practical consideration of these problems, a constructive workable program can be established.

HON. JOHN KEE

Representative from West Virginia

For many years it has been my conviction that Palestine should be restored to the Jewish people for the establishment of a Jewish National Home within the meaning and intent of the Convention in regard to this subject between the United States and Great Britain. I am further convinced that the desired objective can be attained only by the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Above all other places in the world, Palestine is the most suitable location for the proposed new Commonwealth. To say, as has been often urged, that it is the traditional home of the Jewish people, is but a partial

statement of fact. Palestine is more. It is the Jewish Home, not alone by legend and tradition, but is their land and home by right of title indelibly recorded on the pages of history. It is theirs by every rule of justice found in the codes of men and nations. It is theirs by will, there expressed, of the God of both Jew and Gentile.

Unlike other races or nations of people who from time to time through the centuries have held possession of Palestine or claimed it as their own, the Jewish people have never relinquished, forfeited nor alienated their right and title. For uncounted generations they have fought for this land.

Through the centuries they have time after time successfully defended their possession, but have also, time after time, tasted the bitterness of defeat. Every defeat was followed by persecution, oppression, slavery, exile. To preserve their heritage they have suffered every cruelty devised by the ingenuity of man, but the indomitable spirit of the race has never been broken. They are still willing to give their blood and treasure to preserve their ancient right. Their story is an epic of love, loyalty and devotion to the land of their fathers.

In the present world upheaval, precipitated by the unspeakable Hitler, the Jewish people have suffered beyond all others. How many have been sacrificed to the bloodthirst of the beast of Berlin will probably never be known. But through all these later years of oppression and persecution, of rapine and robbery, of starvation, torture, exile, imprisonment and wanton murder of millions of their race, the Jewish people have never lost their hope for the ultimate return to them of their Homeland. Now, with the promise of a new era of security and peace throughout the world, the time is here to interest ourselves in the restoration of Palestine to a people who have so long and patiently waited.

These people have already demonstrated to the world what they can accomplish in Palestine if given an opportunity. Their achievements there, notwithstanding adverse conditions, have caused universal wonder and admiration. The Jewish people of Palestine, burdened as they have been with tasks of a magnitude almost beyond comprehension, have neither failed their task nor their duty to the cause of humanity. They have made a magnificent contribution to the cause for which the armies of the United States are battling.

It was indeed a matter of deep concern and regret that unforeseen and unanticipated events temporarily halted the prosecution to full accomplishment of plans for Palestine's future. It is with all confidence, however, that I predict an early change in the military situation such as will not only admit of the passage by Congress of the pending Resolution regarding the matter, but will justify additional action such as I have long favored and will continue to support—action through which Palestine will be restored to the Jewish people and their security in its possession assured.

HON. FRANK B. KEEFE

Representative from Wisconsin

The age-old efforts of Zionist organizations throughout the world to provide a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine have received a serious setback as a result of the present attitude of Great Britain as manifested in the British "White Paper."

Although present international diplomatic relationships have apparently succeeded in preventing an expression by the Congress of the United States on this subject, it is to be fervently hoped that ways and means will be found to reopen the gates of Palestine so that persecuted

Jews may there find a haven of rest and refuge and carry on the magnificent work of rehabilitation and development which has characterized the efforts of Zionist groups throughout the world.

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

Representative from Tennessee

I am certainly in sympathy with your effort to do away with the prohibition that goes into effect which will make further Jewish immigration into Palestine impossible. This restriction should of course never have been issued but the difficulty is that it is a matter which involves, and will have to be settled by the British and I do not know just how effective we can be in helping relieve the situation. I will certainly follow it closely and do what I can.

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

Representative from Pennsylvania

In all the world no people have suffered more as a result of World War Two, and no people have been more cruelly abused by Hitler, the instigator of this war, than have the Jews.

Ever since 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was promulgated during World War One, the rehabilitation of the homeless Jews in a home of their own in Palestine, has been one of the great humanitarian projects before the world.

Every American President since Woodrow Wilson has endorsed this project and so has the Congress of the United States when, in 1922, it passed unanimously the Lodge-Fish Resolution. The need for a Jewish Homeland never was greater, and the sympathy of the Christian

world for the suffering of the Jews has never been greater.

Of course I will do all I can to further the development of Jewish Homeland.

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY

Representative from New York

Twenty-six years have passed since the Balfour Declaration was issued, and the outward face of the world, and especially the map of Europe, has considerably changed. Behind these changes lie many hopes and ambitions—some good, some evil. This old earth has suffered many grievous and heartbreaking disappointments. But some gains have been made, and among them one of the most inspiring is the progress in reestablishing Palestine as the Jewish National Home.

The homeless Jewish multitudes of Europe look to the Jewish National Home in Palestine for salvation. They pray that the gates of Palestine may open wide for them, that they may continue and complete the work of civilization and restoration which the pioneers who preceded them so nobly advanced.

To that prayer, men of humanity and goodwill in America and all other lands, will say "Amen."

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

Representative from New York

You have my assurance that I propose to continue to do everything I possibly can to assist in the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

HON. CECIL R. KING

Representative from California

The future of the Jewish people will largely depend on the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

We have observed with much sympathy and interest the magnificent progress the Jewish National Home has made in recent years.

Our sense of fairness and compassion drives us to a continuance of the traditional American policy of supporting the movement to establish and strengthen the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

Representative from Ohio

I wish you to know of my sincere interest in the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. I know and fully appreciate the ruthless persecution which has fallen upon them in Europe and I am fully aware of the urgent and dire need of the many who have been rendered homeless and destitute as a result of such persecution.

The brutal hand of Hitlerism has fallen cruelly and heavily upon innocent millions of men, women and children. To deny the survivors, in their plight, to find a permanent home in Palestine or to her immigration to that land at this time would be an ineradicable stain on civilization. Everything humanely possible must be done to keep the immigration doors of Palestine open. An aroused public conscience would not have it otherwise.

I fully approve of the stand which the Government of the United States has taken in the past in support of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and I assure you of my support of any steps which may be taken in the Congress re-affirming this stand and tending to facilitate the free entry of Jewish people into that country.

HON. RICHARD M. KLEBERG

Representative from Texas

On the subject of the Jewish National Home, there could be no reason why I, or any other person, should protest or oppose the efforts of those engaged in bringing it to fruition. High motives of every kind should impel its support, and only biased and base motives will oppose. The form in which our country's support of this movement is couched, and the mode of approach involved, still constitutes the major problem.

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

Representative from New York

I am taking an earnest part in the effort to secure abrogation of the British White Paper on Palestine. It would be calamitous to maintain its discriminatory provisions at a time when the democratic peoples of the world are joined to defeat the forces of fascism and tyranny and when the first victims of Nazism need more, not fewer, open doors.

Representative Klein also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement declaring that his district is practically unanimous for the Resolution.

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON

Representative from Minnesota

As one who voted for the Fish Resolution to establish a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine back in 1922, I welcome this opportunity to reaffirm my hope that the Balfour agreement will be lived up to in deed and in spirit. I have yet to hear of a sound and valid reason why the Jews should not have a homeland where they would be free to live their lives in peace and security.

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

Representative from Pennsylvania

My past actions are a clear indication of my deep desire to remedy the plight of the Jews in Europe, and to see them attain their great objective of establishing a National Homeland in Palestine.

The money, time and energy already expended by the Jews of all nations in furtherance of this purpose, and the great results which they have already secured in Palestine constitute one of the great achievements of history.

HON. CHARLES M. LaFOLLETTE

Representative from Indiana

My own reaction is that Palestine should be available as a homeland for the Jews if they desire it. I also feel that this desire has constantly been thwarted or interfered with by the need of England to placate the Arab and Mohammedan peoples of the Middle East, and that oil rights and the existence of this war with the troublesome problem of the Mohammedans in India have all contributed to the British attitude.

It occurs to me that this President, whose foreign policy to date seems to consist of the endorsement of a blank note for Churchill, is not holding out much hope of a solution of this problem favorable to the aspirations of those Jews who desire Palestine as a homeland. The attitude of this administration is consistent with its appeasement of all of the reactionary influences in Europe and its further endorsement of the British policy of thrusting back upon the conquered peoples all the little worn-out monarchies which are represented in the governments in exile, without regard to any new desire of the peoples of those countries who have been subject to German oppression

to select a different form of government than that which prevailed at the time of the German invasion. The administration's policy of expediency with reference to Darlan and Giraud and Badoglio and King Emanuele all evidence a heedless, short-sighted, reactionary policy which, if adhered to in the future, will bankrupt the most priceless thing which America has in the world, and that is its former reputation for supporting the aspirations of peoples for freedom and liberty.

HON. HENRY D. LARCADE

Representative from Louisiana

Very recently, Prime Minister Churchill stated that he was looking forward to a post-war world accord "in which the rights of small nations will be upheld and protected and in which the strong will use their power under the law for the protection of the weak."

This should be a message of good cheer to the Jewish people.

We owe it to the Jews to give them active aid in their brave effort to rebuild their National Home. We should pledge ourselves today to cooperation with and protection of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine which should emerge from the present conflict.

I concur in the action taken by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana urging that the gates of Palestine be opened for the unrestricted entry and settlement of Jewish refugees. It is the duty of the Allied Nations to see that the persecuted Jews of Europe are provided with a Homeland.

HON. CLARENCE F. LEA

Representative from California

The membership of the Congress of the United States

reflects every phase of sentiment, opinion and conviction of the American people.

The sympathetic interest manifested here in behalf of the establishment of a Jewish National Home and Country is an expression of sympathy for an oppressed people, and also a recognition of the great capacity of the Jewish people to contribute to the advancement in every phase of world progress.

It will be a happy accomplishment, an event of hopeful portent, if at least one small section of this earth could give to the people of the Jewish race, a free and untrammelled opportunity to reach their highest development.

In due time, I expect to see Congress give its support to any appropriate course which may contribute to that end.

HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE

Representative from Iowa

The Jews have exhibited amazing qualities of nation builders. They have tilled the soil of Palestine and they have built workshops and factories which have turned out the tools both for the peaceful rejuvenation of the land of the Bible as well as for the heroic defense of the Near East against the Nazi bands.

The Jews have demonstrated their mature nationhood.

Let us give them the tools to carry on. Let us keep the doors of Palestine open for the sons of Israel, so that they again may become a blessing to the world as they have been so frequently during the history of Western civilization.

HON. JAY LeFEVRE

Representative from New York

I was very glad to find in the Republican Platform the plank on Palestine and learn that it was unanimously

adopted at the National Convention held in Chicago June 27th. This shows that the Republicans are not hedging the Jewish problem and are supporting the belief that the Jewish National Home should be further developed in Palestine so that following the war the Jewish people will be able to enjoy the security and happiness originally planned for them by the Balfour Declaration.

HON. WILLIAM LEMKE

Representative from North Dakota

The desire of the Jewish people for a National Home is understandable. All people desire and are entitled to a homeland. That is human nature.

Because of its historic background, Palestine is the natural place for this homeland. I feel that such a homeland can be established at Palestine without injury or injustice to other people. It is the duty of the United States and Great Britain to see that such a homeland is established.

HON. EARL R. LEWIS

Representative from Ohio

Palestine, the ancestral home of the Jews, should be opened to Jewish immigration in order that these oppressed people might find there a National Home where they may find happiness and security.

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

Representative from Indiana

The Jewish Homeland was a beautiful conception which appealed to friends of humanity all around the world. I hope that nothing will be done to impair or nullify this idea which embodies the hopes and aspirations of mil-

lions of human beings. I think that the time has come when definite action should be taken by the Congress of the United States to express the sentiment of the people of America in favor of the perpetuation and development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and I shall gladly do all I can toward that end.

Representative Ludlow also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, expressing hope that the Committee would report the Resolutions for early passage by Congress.

HON. WALTER A. LYNCH

Representative from New York

Representative Lynch appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement:

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the committee for giving me the opportunity to appear here at this time. I am thoroughly in favor of House Resolutions 418 and 419, which are before you for consideration this morning.

We Americans have little use for double talk—the language of international diplomacy. When the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, passed the resolution, later signed by President Harding, “that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people” there was no equivocation. The ruthless persecution of the Jews in Europe had aroused the sympathies of the American people, and our Congress, by its resolution, sought to give expression to the deep-seated conviction of the people of the United States that all men are created equal and that freedom of religion is the inalienable right of every individual. The centuries have seen the tortuous trek of the Jews through the countries of the world, and have wit-

nessed the persecutions that have relentlessly pursued them. Through the years and despite the persecutions the Jewish heart clung with deep-seated affection to Palestine—the home of Jewry and the birthplace of Christendom.

The world has too long denied the Jews their Palestine. It is time their right to their homeland be recognized. The hour has come when justice be done, when appeasement cease and the doors of Palestine be opened as a haven to the millions of homeless Jews who are victims of persecution.

Neither in the resolution of the Sixty-seventh Congress nor in the Balfour Declaration is there any intimation that there was to be a limitation of the number of Jews for whom Palestine might be a haven. Indeed, under article 6 of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain, as proclaimed by President Calvin Coolidge on December 15, 1925, it specifically provides that the administration of Palestine—

shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in article 4, close settlement of the Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

The only restriction that was placed on immigration prior to the British white paper—and the only one that could possibly have ever been intended—was that the volume of immigration should not be so great as to exceed the economic capacity of the country to absorb such immigration. The reason for this was to prevent the immigrants from becoming a burden upon the community. This was sound policy.

To my mind, restriction of immigration, based on political considerations, as outlined in the British white paper defeats the very purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the resolution of the Sixty-seventh Congress. While

calling Palestine a haven for homeless Jews it shuts the doors of that home against all but a minimum of Jewish refugees. Instead of becoming a "center in which the Jewish people may take on ground of religion and race, an interest and pride" Palestine, under the British white paper, becomes a community surrounded by a wall of politics, which bars the hopeless and unfortunate Jewish refugees who in their desperate need, seek succor amongst their coreligionists—and in vain.

HON. JIM McCORD

Representative from Tennessee

I am in harmony with the excerpt from the Democratic Platform concerning the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. EDWARD O. McCOWEN

Representative from Ohio

I see no reason why the Jews of the world should not only be permitted, but also encouraged to try to regain their ancient home of Palestine. I see no reason why all clear thinkers dominated by humanitarian impulses should not coincide with these views.

I understand that Palestine is ready and prepared to accept millions of Jews of the world to make homes there. A new national home for the Jewish people in the ancestral land of ancient times would, in my opinion, be the best and greatest thing that could happen not only for the Jews but for all peoples of the world.

HON. DAN R. McGEHEE

Representative from Mississippi

All people should be sympathetic with the ambitious

desire of the Jewish race in the acquisition of, and being in a position to settle at a place where they can establish a democratic Jewish Commonwealth. It is their desire to do so in Palestine.

Their efforts are being put forth to enlist the moral support of the humanitarian loving people throughout the world. And, they are entitled not only to their moral support, but their active. We are all so cognizant of the inhuman treatment as a race they have received throughout Europe at the hands of Hitler and his satellites.

I am one of those who inherits that humanitarian feeling for my fellow man and am ready to give my active and moral support to them in their worthy ambition to settle in Palestine and I shall certainly be glad to support the Resolution now pending before the Congress of the United States.

HON. HARRY J. MCGREGOR

Representative from Ohio

I will take the position that the persecution of the Jews by Hitler and his cohorts is one of the most tragic events of this age. There certainly is no doubt in my mind that the horror inflicted upon millions of innocent people places a grave responsibility on democracies.

I certainly feel we must do all humanly possible to help those who escaped the firing squads of the enemy in order to rebuild their lives both nationally and individually.

HON. CHARLES E. MCKENZIE

Representative from Louisiana

All peoples have a right to a national homeland and I sincerely trust that the Allied Nations will support the

establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

HON. DONALD H. McLEAN

Representative from New Jersey

I have consistently believed in the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, as evidenced by my support of the organizations furthering this project. I believe I am echoing the sentiment of America as manifested by the action of the American Congress in 1922 in endorsing the Balfour Declaration, and the growing sentiment of all creeds in laboring to secure the implementation of its terms.

For that reason I am in favor of opening the doors of Palestine to immigration, and the establishment of a National Jewish Commonwealth there.

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

Representative from South Carolina

The clear voice of the American people has been heard in protest against the White Paper of 1939 closing the doors of Palestine to new Jewish immigration after March 31, 1944.

The clear voice of the American people will continue to be heard in the relentless demand that the pledge to the Jewish people that they will be aided in their heroic effort to rebuild Palestine as a National Home should be honored.

HON. ROLLA C. McMILLEN

Representative from Illinois

I am greatly interested in the problems of the Jewish people and hope that I may be one that will assist in the

final solution of a permanent and undisturbed home for them.

I am not entirely familiar with what has already been done, as well as what may be now advisable having to do with the National Home in Palestine.

Be assured that I will give the matter my devoted attention.

HON. HOWARD J. McMURRAY

Representative from Wisconsin

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the issuance by the British Government of the Balfour Declaration, 68 members of the Senate and 194 members of the House of Representatives joined in a declaration which included this statement:

"The Balfour Declaration was justly hailed throughout the world as an act of historic reparation and as a charter of freedom for the Jewish people. It was designated to open the gates of Palestine to homeless and harassed multitudes and to pave the way for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth."

The need for a Jewish Commonwealth is greater today than ever, and until such time as these oppressed people have a chance to live as free men, the world will continue to suffer because of the Jewish Tragedy.

HON. JOHN D. McWILLIAMS

Representative from Connecticut

Your cause is a righteous one. The Gates of Palestine must be kept open to those who have suffered the tortures and indignities of Nazi tyranny. I offer my pledge of continued active support of your heartrending and deserving appeal.

HON. MELVIN J. MAAS
Representative from Minnesota

It has long been my feeling that the United States should continue its assistance and moral support to the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.

As Chairman of the Minnesota Delegation, I presented this matter to our State Delegation, and a resolution was adopted unanimously, calling upon the Secretary of State and the President for all support possible.

HON. RAY J. MADDEN
Representative from Indiana

On various previous occasions, I have expressed my wholehearted approval of the idea of the rebuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, the ancient homeland of the Jewish people. The idea of the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home is striking in its simplicity and soundness, in its appeal to the sense of justice and fairness which has been guiding American foreign policy since its inception. As Christians, we have a double duty to support this constructive effort of rebuilding the national existence of the Jews who have suffered so incredibly from the hands of the so-called Christians in Nazi dominated Europe.

As soon as war conditions allow, and I trust it shall be very soon, the Congress of the United States will speak up again, reasserting its strong belief that the Jewish people are entitled to and should be assisted in rebuilding Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

Representative from Washington

I think we should insist, in the name of humanity, on the right of all Jewish people to find shelter, whenever necessary, in Palestine, and thus help to enable the eventual establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

This should be facilitated by Great Britain, the mandatory power. Otherwise, it will mean more sacrifice to the ruthlessness of the German aggressors.

It is not only a state matter; it is a religious matter; and since freedom of religion is one of the principles we are fighting for, we cannot do less than to give our full assistance to these less fortunate people.

HON. VITO MARCANTONIO

Representative from New York

I add my voice to the cause of free and unhampered entry of the Jewish people into Palestine. The war we fight at this hour cannot and must not end in ugly compromises which deny to any people of the world the right for full cultural religious and national freedom. The Jewish people—victimized, oppressed and uprooted in Europe—have in a clear voice expressed their will to fight in this war as a nation, to strive for Palestine as the reconstituted national homeland of their people. Without equivocations, without reservation, I support that demand. I do it because I know that the liberties of no people are safe so long as these liberties are denied to others. I do it because the Jewish people, themselves, have bought with their blood the irrevocable right to live their lives in the homeland of their fathers. I march with you tonight in the future for the freedom of the Jewish people.

Representative Marcantonio also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement urging speedy adoption of the Resolution.

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.

Representative from Massachusetts

MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Plain justice should prompt us to keep faith with the Jewish people and permit the building of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Following the war the Jewish people must find a haven where they can have happiness and security. Unquestionably Palestine will be the one place capable of absorbing large numbers.

Palestine through years of preparation has been made ready for the emergency which now exists. It would be unfortunate if the great humanitarian movement which prompted its birth should be interrupted. We must not allow it to happen.

Representative Martin also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement:

For more than 20 years I have been in sympathy with the resolution which is presented here today. I have believed that it was the solution of one of the great problems that must be solved some day if we are going to have a happy and contented world. This resolution is an expression of the sympathy of the people of the United States with Jewish aspirations for the restoration of their national life in Palestine. It is a reassertion of the historic attitude of the United States as embodied in the Lodge Palestine resolution which was adopted by Congress in 1922.

The tragedy of the Jewish people has never been so

deep as it is today. The terrible persecution and mass murder of the Jews of Europe is so ghastly that no true Christian heart can withhold its sympathy. But all will not be destroyed. That is the hope and prayer of all civilized men. Those Jews who will escape extermination will face cruel homelessness, except for Palestine.

Following the victorious conclusion of the war the only country which will be capable of receiving and absorbing large number of these unfortunate people will be Palestine, which country was made ready for that very purpose.

During the past two decades the Jewish pioneers in Palestine have turned sand dunes into orange groves. They have pushed farther into the waste land frontiers of cultivation and settlement. They have developed industries and made Palestine a better place to live in for all of its inhabitants regardless of race or creed.

The 600,000 Jews of Palestine have made a magnificent contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. Thousands of their sons have volunteered in the armed service of Great Britain and gave a good account of themselves on the field of battle.

It is nothing but elementary justice to enable the homeless Jews of Europe, the victims of the Nazi tyranny, to enter Palestine, not on sufferance, but as a matter of right.

This resolution is a reaffirmation of the established policy of the United States in favor of a Jewish national home in harmony with the new and terrible realities with which the Jews of Europe are faced today.

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

Representative from Iowa

Thank you very much for the resolution urging that appropriate measures be taken to insure the abandonment

of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939, and that encouragement be given to accelerate large scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and that Palestine be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth.

I appreciate your giving me the benefit of the information expressed in the resolution and shall give any legislation bearing on this subject my full and sympathetic consideration.

HON. NOAH M. MASON

Representative from Illinois

I am in full accord and will whole-heartedly support the position of the Republican Party as stated in their platform Declaration concerning the opening of Palestine to the Jews for "unrestricted immigration and land ownership."

HON. MATTHEW J. MERRITT

Representative from New York

I assure you of my continued cooperation in this matter.

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

Representative from New Hampshire

I am in full accord with the firm stand taken by the Republican Party in the Platform adopted by the National Convention in Chicago last June in regard to a Homeland for the millions of Jewish men, women and children. I have long been an advocate of international cooperation among the nations of the world and as such feel that we should consider the opening of Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth.

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

Representative from Michigan

I stand squarely on the Republican Platform, and expect to do what I can to assist in carrying out its terms.

HON. A. L. MILLER

Representative from Nebraska

I am in complete accord with the idea of developing a Jewish Homeland in its true meaning in the land of Palestine. Great things have already been accomplished there by the Jewish people and I believe they should be further encouraged by receiving now what they were promised in the Balfour Declaration.

HON. WILLIAM J. MILLER

Representative from Connecticut

The unfortunate rejection by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Wright-Compton Resolution was regrettable. The failure of the Committee to act favorably on this resolution should not end the efforts on the part of the Members of Congress interested in the development of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

The State Department was most emphatic in urging the committee to reject these resolutions at the present time. I believe that if the sponsors of these resolutions will place a discharge petition on the Speaker's desk, the necessary 218 signatures could be obtained. Such a petition would force the bill on to the floor of the House and would bring about a record vote on its passage.

It is my opinion that we have a perfect right, if not a duty, to adopt such a resolution inasmuch as millions of dollars were raised in this country for the development

of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine, with the definite understanding that both the British Government and our own Government approved this project.

As a Member of the House of Representatives I will do whatever I can to bring about the adoption of such a resolution.

HON. B. J. MONKIEWICZ

Representative from Connecticut

I am in full sympathy with the movement to establish a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, and I sincerely hope that the doors of Palestine will again be opened, which will permit entry of the Jews into their Homeland.

HON. CAMERON MORRISON

Representative from North Carolina

I am very much in sympathy with the problem of establishing a National Home for the Jewish homeless.

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

Representative from Louisiana

The infamous White Paper is to my mind one of the most oppressive and persecutory documents ever brought forth from any legislative body. You have my positive assurance that I will make every effort in the very near future to render any assistance possible which might contribute to the success of the Palestine Movement.

HON. JOSEPH MRUK

Representative from New York

In the Senate, a resolution has been introduced by Senator Wagner and Senator Taft, Senate Resolution 247, which has been referred to the Senate Committee on

Foreign Relations. As of today, no hearings have been scheduled.

You may feel assured that I shall give these measures my support as they are considered on the House Floor, and I hope that the passage of the above resolutions will be instrumental in prevailing upon the British Government to live up to the Balfour Declaration.

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

Representative from South Dakota

I have always been a supporter of movements to solve what is referred to as the Jewish problem. I signed the declaration in support of the Balfour Commitment and I supported the move which hoped to set up a Jewish Army.

HON. JOHN R. MURDOCK

Representative from Arizona

I myself have already gone on record as being favorable to the work of the Pro-Palestine Committee and would like to do what I can toward restoring Palestine as the Home of the Jews.

Of course, I should like to see the British Colonial Secretary take a different view in the matter and pay less attention to the Arabs, who, to my mind, have done little to help the Allies in this war.

HON. JOHN W. MURPHY

Representative from Pennsylvania

In the light of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and the joint resolution adopted by the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States on September 27, 1922, I can see no other proper course for any

member of Congress but to adopt the policy that he is in favor of the aspirations of the Jewish people in having established in Palestine a National Home.

Apart from the Balfour Declaration and the joint resolution of Congress, and based upon my knowledge of the Jewish people ever since birth, and supported by very close and warm friendships I have established with the Jewish people with whom I have come in contact, may I say to you that I am heartily in favor of the hopes, the aspirations, aims and ideals of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and in the achievement of a place in the sun, and I will do everything in my power wherever possible, in private and public life, to see that those goals are attained.

HON. REID F. MURRAY

Representative from Wisconsin

The Jews have given back to the soil of the Land of Israel what indifference and waste have taken from His soil. They have supplied what ignorance and greed have neglected. As long as they keep on building no one should stand in their way. Their road leads to liberation of the land and of mankind.

Palestine must keep its doors open to the Jews for the sake of the peoples of the earth: Jew and Christian, Jew and Arab have a common stake in the future of the Jewish National Home.

The Jewish people will be making a great contribution to the justice, the peace, the humanitarianism of the world if and when they are able to establish a Homeland on soil they can call their own. Every fair minded person in this world must subscribe to an attitude that gives every people all the civil, legal and religious rights he asks for himself.

HON. TOM MURRAY

Representative from Tennessee

I am on the official committee for the development of Palestine as a Home for the members of the Jewish race. Congress is sincerely interested in the plight of the Jewish refugees in Europe and will do everything possible to be of assistance.

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

Representative from Pennsylvania

Representative Myers appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, I appear before you in support of House Resolutions 418 and 419 and to urge that the committee report these resolutions favorably.

The United States should certainly use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine be kept open for the free entry of Jews into that country and that the immigration of Jews into Palestine scheduled to stop on March 31, 1944, might continue. The Balfour Declaration must not be nullified nor the provisions of the mandate disregarded. An opportunity for colonization in Palestine by the Jewish people must be continued, and they should be allowed to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. They should be helped to develop this homeland for we are all aware that millions of Jewish people in the conquered countries have been tortured and killed by the Nazis; indeed the extermination of a race is systematically going on at this very moment and if we are in earnest about this problem, and if we intend to do more than sympathize with these

people who are suffering untold agonies, there is no better way to help them than by the adoption of these resolutions. It is therefore my hope that the resolutions be given the unanimous approval of this committee.

HON. JOHN P. NEWSOME

Representative from Alabama

The Foreign Affairs Committee started hearings on February 8 on Resolutions 418 and 419, and I am turning the hundreds of letters and telegrams sent me on this subject over to the Committee for their information and guidance with the request that immediate consideration be given.

The Members of the House are vitally interested and much concerned, and I assure you of my sympathetic and active interest.

HON. FRED NORMAN

Representative from Washington

As a member of the Congress, please be assured of my earnest desire to assist in your Program to have the persecuted Jewish peoples given sanctuary, and a new chance to rebuild their lives and their hope, in Palestine.

You can be certain that my support will be given to any reasonable plan to promote this establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. I take this stand on the grounds that our free nation is obligated by its freedom to assist in the achievement of the same blessed state for the other peoples of the world who now suffer from lack of justice.

HON. W. F. NORRELL

Representative from Arkansas

If the Jews throughout the world desire to establish

Palestine as their Home, I certainly would be favorable to such action just as quickly as the diplomatic problems involved should be finally decided by Representatives of Foreign Relations Departments of the Nations involved. I have over the past several years been advised that the European Jews would like to make Palestine their future Home, and as soon as it is considered proper by our State Department I am willing to exert every possible effort to see that favorable consideration is had in regard to this matter.

HON. MARY T. NORTON

Representative from New Jersey

May I express deepest sympathy with the thousands of homeless Jewish refugees and the hope that some real and lasting solution may be found to their tragic problems.

HON. GEORGE D. O'BRIEN

Representative from Michigan

I am convinced that it is fundamentally just that a Jewish National Home be secured in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the statement of a just and profound principle that the ancestral home of the Jews should be made available to them for immigration. It seems to me very unfortunate that such immigration was arbitrarily terminated.

When the Palestine Resolution comes before the House of Representatives, I shall be very happy to vote for its adoption.

HON. JOSEPH J. O'BRIEN

Representative from New York

The British White Paper issued in 1939 depriving the Jewish people of continental Europe from further coloni-

zation and development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine is a tragedy which, in my humble opinion, has besmirched the pages of British history.

Extending sympathy to these oppressed Jewish martyrs is by no means a solution to the problem. I, for one, would be most willing and I would most enthusiastically support any effort made in this country to establish free ports where the Jewish refugees could find a sanctuary and a haven to which they could flee. We have many unused camps in this country that could be set up for the exclusive purpose of taking care of these poor unfortunate individuals for the duration and after the cessation of hostilities they could return to their Homeland, which they would want to do.

This suggestion is deserving, I believe, of the fullest consideration and available means to explore the possibility should be looked into at once.

The Jewish people have suffered untold torture and ignominies and have been crushed under the heel of Nazi oppression. It is time we stopped offering sympathy and for God's sake and the love of mankind let's do something constructive.

My suggestion could be carried out and would necessitate no additional legislation and would by no means affect the existing Immigration Laws. Let's have some action. I'm ready; how about you?

HON. THOMAS J. O'BRIEN

Representative from Illinois

A National Home for the Jewish people was promised by Great Britain under the Balfour Declaration and Palestine was mandated to Great Britain by the League of Nations which recognized the Declaration with the consent of members of the League of Nations, and with

the consent and approval of the United States of America.

The Balfour Declaration was made because, among other claims, of the just and historical claim to Palestine by the Jewish people, which goes back thousands of years to the time of the Old Testament.

In order to give the Jewish people a proper cultural background, both for their own respect and the respect of the world toward them, it is both just and necessary that a Jewish Homeland be unequivocally assured, and especially so in view of the great achievements already made by them in Palestine.

I shall always be happy to give my support and cooperation to the aforementioned cause.

HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR

Representative from Montana

I approve of the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration to the end that they may develop a Jewish Homeland in that country. The Jewish people in centuries past have rendered heroic service for the cause of freedom and right living.

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

Representative from Wisconsin

On every occasion when the matter came up, I have expressed myself as strongly in favor of passage of the resolution recommending the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.

As human beings and representatives of humanity, this is the minimum that this Congress ought to do. Rest assured of my interest and support in this direction.

HON. EMMET O'NEAL

Representative from Kentucky

I cannot imagine anyone whose sympathies would not be moved by the distress now being suffered by the oppressed of Europe, especially the Jews. Like so many others, I have the desire to be helpful in any movement to correct the frightful conditions. The Palestine Movement offers hope to the suffering, and I trust that it will overcome all resistance and become an established fact.

HON. DONALD L. O'TOOLE

Representative from New York

I know that you are aware that for many years back, I have been fighting for a Homeland in which the Jews would have a feeling of absolute ownership and absolute security, free from the intervention of any foreign country. I believe that England is now endeavoring to break her guaranty merely for the sake of political expediency. You may rest assured that as long as I am in Congress I will continue my fight to protect these heroic pioneers who have done so much to make a desert blossom.

HON. GEORGE E. OUTLAND

Representative from California

It is peculiarly fitting that Palestine Jewry should today be in a position to offer safety to persecuted Jews in Europe. It was in order to solve the millennial problem of Jewish homelessness that the nations of the world determined to reestablish a National Home for the Jews in their ancient country, Palestine.

The purpose of the Palestine Mandate is still far from achieved. In the over-all aggregate of Jews admitted from

Hitler-dominated Europe, little Palestine stands ahead of our own country. In the past decade, we have admitted close to 200,000 Jews from countries now dominated by the enemy, while Palestine has given refuge to over 300,000.

What do we have in Palestine? We have a community geographically very close to those who are most in need of refuge; a community which has a record and a tradition of absorbing refugees; a community with a tested technique and adequate facilities for receiving and settling refugees; so that the whole burden of this task need not fall upon special agencies set up by the United Nations; a community which is so deeply interested in the project that there can be no doubt of its willingness to receive as many refugees as we can send them; but more than that—a community which has already established the avenues and posted the agents indispensable to the work of rescuing those whom we wish to save.

One cannot but feel its relation to that other great historic task which we once before undertook, and which we must at this moment reaffirm—that of enabling this people to resume a normal process of living in a land of its own.

HON. STEPHEN PACE

Representative from Georgia

As soon as the military situation will permit, I am sure the Congress will give most sympathetic consideration to the resolution which endorses the establishment of a permanent National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

HON. HUGH PETERSON

Representative from Georgia

Representative Peterson sent the following letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

Dear Sol: I have had the pleasure of examining House Resolutions 418 and 419 and I just want you to know that the objectives of these resolutions meet with my wholehearted approval.

A large number of my constituents are likewise interested in this matter and we sincerely trust that your committee will take favorable action upon these resolutions.

HON. J. HARDIN PETERSON

Representative from Florida

I am in sympathy with contents of the resolution and shall favor the withdrawal of the Palestine White Paper.

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

Representative from Massachusetts

The present plight of our Jewish brethren in the occupied countries of Europe where they have undergone such pitiable and indefensible persecution by Hitler and his minions of hate is a great question of human brotherhood. Millions of innocent Jews, many of them aged and infirm, others helpless women and children, are wandering over the face of the European continent tonight, driven from pillar to post, from one country to another—homeless, shelterless, friendless and without food and nourishment to keep body and soul together.

We must move promptly to succor and relieve these poor unfortunates. The continued effectuation of the nefarious White Paper will result in the slaughter of additional millions of Jews, not only in Europe, but probably also in Palestine itself where racial hatreds are

being fanned to white heat. Now is the time, not only for Jews, but for all true Americans, to rally to the cause of a great ancient people who are now being persecuted and threatened with extinction throughout many parts of the civilized world.

Representative Philbin also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives requesting a favorable report on the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

Representative from Minnesota

It has long been my feeling that the United States should continue its assistance and moral support to the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.

The Minnesota Delegation in Congress presented this matter to our State Department and also adopted a Resolution unanimously calling upon the Secretary of State, and the President to take action accordingly.

HON. WALTER C. PLOESER

Representative from Missouri

It is my belief that it is most timely and proper that the Congress act favorably on the Palestine Resolution. Excuses which have been given for its delay are to me without proper justification in a cause as just as this.

It is time that the American Congress reaffirms its good position by the passage of the Palestine Resolution. Nations which propound the noble intention of assured freedom should demonstrate their faith by this action at this time.

HON. CHARLES A. PLUMLEY

Representative from Vermont

The United States Government repeatedly, both by official statements of various Presidents, as well as by a Resolution adopted unanimously by both Houses of Congress in 1922, has expressed its concern about the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

In this hour of crisis, when the suffering of the Jewish people has reached a depth never before heard of, and when the White Paper of 1939 threatens the discontinuance of Jewish immigration to Palestine, it is only proper that we should speak up again for the Jewish National Home in Palestine and its future.

A simple feeling of justice should prompt our actions. The seriousness with which we observe the promises given to the small nations will be the acid test for our sincerity and our belief in international obligations.

Representative Plumley also appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives desiring to be recorded for the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. WILLIAM R. POAGE

Representative from Texas

I am sure that most Americans are willing to join you in this endeavor, but I am not sure that we will be very effective if we undertake to force our views on the British Government. As I see it, the British are as representative of the Jewish interests as any government in the world. I therefore hesitate to condemn a government that has done so much for the Jews. While the attitude of the British Government often seems to me to be poorly directed, I must confess that I am not familiar with all of

the problems that confront that government and I feel that I am hardly justified in criticizing an Ally and a known friend of the Jewish people for pursuing a course, which, even though it does not seem wise to us, is undoubtedly in accordance with the views of a great many Jewish people and non-Jews who are undoubtedly friends of the Jewish people.

My own inclination is to follow the course you suggest; but I think that we must at least be guided somewhat in our actions by the determination reached by those who have an opportunity to know more about the details of this problem than we do. I am awaiting the report of our Committee on Foreign Affairs which has for some days been holding hearings on this very question.

HON. NORRIS POULSON

Representative from California

The reasons for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine have been multiplied with the existing holocaust in Europe. Therefore, I think all nations who agreed to this idealistic program in the past should more than ever exert themselves to fulfill their obligation.

HON. D. LANE POWERS

Representative from New Jersey

We in America have a moral duty and a legal right to demand of our Government that it use its influence to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper. In this darkest hour of Jewish history, immigration into Palestine is vital to the lives of millions of people. They cannot wait indefinitely. Every American should consider this fight his fight—for it is part of the struggle against injustice everywhere in the world. As for me and my part

in that body called the Congress of the United States, you may count in all assurance that I will do what is in my power to prevent such a miscarriage of justice.

HON. C. FREDERICK PRACHT

Representative from Pennsylvania

You will please be advised that I will follow the platform of the Republican party which was adopted at the National Convention on June 27, 1944 relative to furthering the efforts of the Jewish people in establishing the "Jewish National Home in Palestine."

HON. JOSEPH M. PRATT

Representative from Pennsylvania

Undoubtedly, all good Americans, would endorse a plan of this nature. I want to assure you that I am in hearty accord with such a program, that would make possible a National Jewish Home in Palestine.

HON. EMORY H. PRICE

Representative from Florida

I wish to advise that I am in complete sympathy with H. Res 418-419 introduced by Representative James A. Wright of Pennsylvania.

I am of the opinion that it is unjust to bar the Jews from Palestine and I hope that Great Britain can be prevailed upon to withdraw the order prohibiting the further entrance of the Jews into Palestine.

I would like to advise you and your organization that when this measure comes before the House that I will vote and use my influence for its passage.

HON. J. PERCY PRIEST
Representative from Tennessee

I assure you of my continued deep interest in the Jewish National Home question.

HON. LOUIS RABAUT
Representative from Michigan

I have already indicated my support of your movement, but in view of the letter of Secretary of War Stimson, stating that any further action on this matter at the present time "would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war," I do not feel that I should make any other comment.

HON. HOMER A. RAMEY
Representative from Ohio

In my opinion, the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a step toward the solution of one of the problems which must be solved if such a lasting peace is to exist throughout the entire world. Further, it represents the solution to the racial hatred and the unsettled economic conditions which will continue to exist in Europe until a place is found in which the unhappy Jews—those who have not already been massacred—can go to make a new start in life. Palestine is the place for such activity, since there is already a natural link between it and the Jewish people and since it can yet absorb many thousands.

Our government has done and is doing its utmost to alleviate the conditions of European refugees during the war. The establishing of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine is consistent with that policy.

HON. ROBERT RAMSPECK

Representative from Georgia

I would like very much to see the problem of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine solved as soon as possible. I feel that we must follow the advice of our State Department in dealing with this matter because that department knows best what we can and cannot do under present circumstances.

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

Representative from West Virginia

A National Home for unfortunate Jewish people, in my opinion, is needed now when populations are attempting to escape from the ruthless actions of the madman Hitler. Palestine is a logical location. Here they will return to the country rich in traditions of this great race.

All of us, regardless of background or creed, are cognizant of Jewish achievements. The Palestine Resolution, now pending in the United States Congress, should be given attention by our legislators in the near future.

HON. SAM RAYBURN

Representative from Texas

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

I feel that in these unsettled times it would be a fine thing for the Jewish people if they had a National Home.

The reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth would be a great step in this direction.

I am sure the resolution now pending in the United States Congress will be given every consideration as soon as the military situation permits.

You may be sure the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people will receive my wholehearted cooperation.

HON. CARROLL B. REECE

Representative from Tennessee

As a member of the committee on resolutions of the Republican National Convention and of the sub-committee on foreign relations, I cooperated in adopting the provision providing for development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, which is unquestionably a place suitable historically and otherwise for the development of a Jewish Homeland in its fullest meaning. In view of this declaration I am confident the Republican Party will assume the responsibility for the development of such a policy in Palestine.

HON. DANIEL A. REED

Representative from New York

The failure of the British Government to carry out its commitments under the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, has been fraught with tragic consequences to thousands upon thousands of hopeless, helpless Jewish refugees. Here is the Declaration of November 2, 1917:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I have followed this question, involving as it does international repercussions, with great interest. My personal sympathy is with the Jewish people who have long sought the formation in Palestine of a homeland for their race.

I am aware that after the creation of the British Palestine mandate, Arab protests against the exclusion of Palestine from their state led to recurrent political uprisings and demonstrations, this was particularly true in 1921, 1929, and 1936-1939. I have followed British Policy on this issue since the riots in 1936, especially the work of the Royal Commission of Inquiry under Lord Peel. The report of this Commission was adopted by Mr. Chamberlain's government, which report proposed the partition into (1) a Jewish state, (2) an Arab state, and (3) a residual area remaining under British mandate. A second commission was appointed—Woodhead Commission—which found the plan was unfair to the Jews in that the area for the new state would be too small. The plan was abandoned by His Majesty's Government.

I have mentioned only a few of the problems involved in this highly controversial question. What I do wish to stress, however, is that further delay in the solution of the problem of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will entail untold suffering to those refugees who have no other place to go to re-establish homes and to enter into gainful occupations.

HON. EDWARD H. REES

Representative from Kansas

I see no reason why Jewish people should not have a right to return to their Homeland of Palestine if they desire to do so. We realize, of course, that this is a matter over which the British Government claims jurisdiction.

Since this is a matter that does not come within the jurisdiction of the American Government and since our Government cannot take any action as such, it occurs to me that the President, if he sees fit to do so, might col-

laborate with the British Prime Minister with a view to indicating a desire that the Jewish people be permitted to return to the land they regard as their home. As I have suggested, my information on this question is considerably limited, but it does seem that if there is justification on the part of the British Government for preventing these people from returning to their original home, it ought to be explained.

HON. JAMES P. RICHARDS

Representative from South Carolina

I have long been in favor of the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. With the lights now before me, I still believe that international action to that end would be wise and just.

I believe, though, that any steps by this Nation toward the attainment of the end stated should be subordinated to the general military program to win this war. Unless and until Nazi barbarism has been crushed in Europe there will be no secure home for any race anywhere.

HON. MENDEL RIVERS

Representative from South Carolina

I give my assurance that I intend to give the legislation concerning this matter my vigorous support. To me this is a matter which should touch the heart strings of every person in whose veins courses one drop of human blood.

HON. ROSS RIZLEY

Representative from Oklahoma

In these days of trial we witness an outpouring of sympathy and help on the part of the American people and

their chosen representatives for the Jewish people. Sympathy for the innocent victims of the unholy alliance of our enemies, aid for their great constructive effort in Palestine.

As there is no other real means to express creative sympathy and to give real aid—we shall relentlessly continue to keep faith with those who rebuild a Jewish Palestine.

Their cause is our cause—they stand for freedom as we do.

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION

Representative from Kentucky

I am a Republican and was a delegate at large to that Convention, and I voted to adopt the Platform including the provision relating to Palestine. The Platform was adopted without a dissenting vote, and I wish to say that I am in full accord with the high purpose and justice set forth in the Plank relating to Palestine. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 should be carried out.

HON. ROBERT F. ROCKWELL

Representative from Colorado

Representative Rockwell sent the following letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

Dear Mr. Chairman: I wish to express my approval of House Resolutions 418 and 419. I am very much in favor of the abrogation of the White Paper and the reestablishment of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

Representative from Massachusetts

I believe that the Palestine Resolution now pending in the House of Representatives in favor of the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Com-

monwealth is expressive of the sentiments of the American people. It is the logical sequence of the established American policy in favor of the Jewish National Home as embodied in the Palestine Joint Resolution known as the Lodge Palestine Resolution which was adopted unanimously in 1922 by the 67th Congress.

Since that time the Jewish people have more than justified the expectations of mankind with reference to Palestine. More than one-half million Jews came into that country since the last World War. By their skill, energy, labor and sacrifice they reclaimed the soil of their Homeland and rebuilt the country in a manner that compelled the admiration of the civilized world.

HON. WILL ROGERS, Jr.

Representative from California

It is my most sincere wish that at the earliest possible opportunity the United States Government take some action to see that the gates of Palestine be reopened in compliance with pledges which England gave when she received the mandate. While fighting Nazism in Germany we must not allow an anti-Semitic type of Nazism to arise in the United States. Congratulations to the Zionist Emergency Council for the work they have done.

HON. EDWARD G. ROHRBOUGH

Representative from Virginia

I am in favor of opening Palestine to Jewish immigration. The Jewish people should be allowed to migrate there in numbers as large as can be absorbed without disturbing the economy of the region. I am convinced this will work no undue hardship on others and that it will prove to be the salvation of the Jewish Race.

Representative Rohrbough also sent a letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives favoring the Palestine Resolutions.

HON. THOMAS ROLPH
Representative from California

"Abrogate the Chamberlain White Paper and establish a Jewish Homeland in Palestine" is such a touching, poignant appeal that we of San Francisco cannot understand why anyone hesitates.

Ten thousand citizens from every section of the northern half of California met in San Francisco's Civic Auditorium. The gathering unanimously adopted resolutions urging relief and succor for the persecuted Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe. They also asked that the gates of Palestine be thrown open as a haven for such Jews as could get out of Europe.

California on the Pacific, New York on the Atlantic reflect the sentiment across the great and glorious land of Freedom. Our hearts beat as one. May our united actions impress those with whom the final decision rests. May God help those in distress across the sea.

Representative Rolph also appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement in which he inserted several Palestine Resolutions adopted by communities and organizations in California and urged the Committee's unanimous vote for the pending Resolutions.

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
Representative from New York

Since the days of the great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, up to the New Deal of his equally great successor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, it has been a tradition of the Democratic Party to give active sup-

port to the cause of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The recent Convention of the Democratic Party has strongly endorsed the idea of rebuilding Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, and I am glad to lend my support to this undertaking which has contributed so much in the past to alleviate the suffering of the victims of Nazi persecution and to rebuild our world in peace, security and dignity.

From the local standpoint, I was glad to note recently that the Brooklyn Zionist Region of which my friend Commissioner Albert D. Schanzer is President, attained a membership of 10,000, the largest regional membership in the U. S. A.

I am happy to join so great a cause.

HON. WILLIAM A. ROWAN

Representative from Illinois

I am unequivocally for the development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and pledge the fullest measure of cooperation for justice to the Jewish people. The time is now, before the termination of war, to establish the status of the Jewish people, and their request for a Home in Palestine is indeed a very modest one.

HON. ED ROWE

Representative from Ohio

The whole matter of a Jewish Commonwealth or National Home in Palestine imposes upon me, as an American, a deep sense of moral and personal responsibility.

The question is not entirely "What is justice to the Jews of the world?" but also, "What is the lack of justice

in the acts of the leading nations' citizens who are not Jews?" Thomas Paine, who was a real pillar in the Institution of Liberty and Justice as we understand it here in this great nation, said:

"He who would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression, for if he violates this duty he establishes a precedent that will reach into himself."

My nation, through its representative leaders, agreed with fifty-three other national signatories that Palestine be established as a Jewish National Home.

The rich contributions of the Jewish people to the Near East is commendatory and of great worth, but this should not be advanced as a cause for the deserving justice to which they are entitled. Let us not becloud the real issue, but recognize it as a simple justice to a part of the human family.

HON. SAM M. RUSSELL

Representative from Texas

I feel that this is an opportune time, and that it would be for the best interests of all concerned, for the Jewish people to have a National Home; and I recommend to all nations that Palestine as a free and democratic country be turned over to the Jewish Commonwealth as a Home for the Jewish people.

I am sure the Resolution pending in Congress will be given every consideration as soon as conditions warrant and make such possible.

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

Representative from Illinois

As one of the few members still serving in the House of Representatives who voted for the historic resolution of 1922 favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National

Home for the Jewish people, it is a pleasure for me to re-affirm my position in this matter.

In this sad hour, when the exigencies of a world-wide war have created new obstacles to fulfillment of that policy, I look forward to the day when peace will see the ultimate achievement of the hopes and aims expressed in the resolution and in the Balfour Declaration.

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

Representative from Michigan

Jews, like others, must have their own Homeland. Not all the Jews to return to Palestine. Like other nations, Jews remain loyal citizens in their respective lands. Relationship of the Jewish citizens in the United States to the Jewish Commonwealth does not differ from that of other Americans to their ancestral homes. For two thousand years Jews clung to their Palestine hope. After the war the homeless Jews will have no other receptive land but Palestine. Jews should not be compelled to return or remain where not wanted. Must be permitted to develop their own Homeland in Palestine to drain off several millions. There is no other opportunity. The American Congress and people to take the stand that Jews, worst Nazi victims and war sufferers, deserve independence like other peoples. Free, open Palestine is necessary and must be included in the United Nations' agreement after the war.

Every fair-minded American must feel that politically the Jewish people, as a people, must become like every other people — possessed of an independent life in a National Homeland. There is no justifiable reason why they should not have a homeland, or their own country, the same as the other peoples of the world possess. This would not mean that all Jews should return to Palestine, any more than it would mean that all Poles should return to Poland, or all Frenchmen to France, or the English to England. Every nation today has many of its former

nationals citizens of other countries. The Jews in other parts of the world will remain as heretofore loyal citizens of the country which will permit them to remain equal citizens of those countries, and the American Jews, those who have patriotically served their country, both in peace and in war, intend to remain citizens of the United States, and their relationship would be no different with the Jewish Commonwealth than that of other American citizens with respect to their ancestral homes. It would mean, however, that the Jews living in Germany, or in other countries where they are unwanted and persecuted, would have the right and opportunity to return to a land that would accept them, and that they could call their own.

The Jews have clung to Palestine all through Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Christian and Turkish domination, to this very day. They have never surrendered the hope that some day they would rebuild their national life there. Two thousand years of exile, outlawry, ghettos and massacres have not destroyed this hope. This living bond with Palestine was never broken. No reasonable man can deny the proper claims of the Jewish people to their homeland.

When this war is concluded the hundreds of thousands of Jews, perhaps millions, will seek new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. There will be no other opportunities for mass immigration anywhere else in the world. They will have no place to go, except to Palestine. Trickle of immigration may be permitted to this country or that, but waves of immigration will be fiercely resisted. Of course, we all hope and pray that it may be otherwise, and that the nations of the world will open their doors to refugees; but these things did not happen after the last war, and speaking realistically, they may not happen after this war. Millions of job-

hungry people throughout the world, and many of them virulent Jew haters, inculcated with the Nazi doctrines, will not welcome Jewish immigrants as their economic competitors.

The Jews should not be compelled and forced to remain under such conditions, where such economic hostility exists, and be subjected to the vicious anti-Semitism that might result. The Jewish people must be permitted to move freely and develop their own Homeland in Palestine. Palestine must be opened up to drain off in a relatively short time two or three million Jews from these crowded and economically-tensioned centers. We know that there is no other opportunity for mass immigration of these Jews to any other place in the world.

The Congress of the United States and the people of the United States will take the stand that the Jewish people are no less deserving than other peoples whose national independence and freedom have been guaranteed by the United Nations. They have been the worst victims of Nazi brutality, and their casualties have been proportionately heaviest. The Jews are entitled the same as any other people to national security, dignity and normalcy.

A free and open Palestine is necessary and must be demanded by the Congress of the United States and included in the agreements reached with the United Nations when this war is over.

HON. LANSDALE G. SASSCER

Representative from Maryland

When the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917, there were reasons to doubt whether the country of Palestine would be large enough to give a real home to a large number of Jews, whether the Jews would be able to

cultivate the desert soil of their ancestral homeland and whether the Arabs would benefit from the influx of the new settlers.

All these questions have been answered since.

Palestine has become a National Home to the Jewish People, a blessing not merely to themselves but to the entire Near East.

I consider it a distinct privilege and a solemn obligation to aid and assist in the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. DAVE E. SATTERFIELD, Jr.

Representative from Virginia

I received with very genuine regret the news that the resolution introduced in both Houses of the Congress, reiterating the principles stated in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, had been for the present laid aside as a result of requests by Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of State Hull, and General Marshall.

I think the United States should take every appropriate measure to the end that Palestine be opened for the free entry of Jews. It is a tragedy that there is strict application of the 1939 White Paper at this time of great peril and uncertainty for the Jews in Europe.

HON. THOMAS E. SCANLON

Representative from Pennsylvania

I am strongly in favor of helping to restore a People, uprooted by war and threatened with extermination, to freedom and security. I sincerely trust that the doors of Palestine will be opened for the free entry of the millions of homeless Jewish People and that there will be established in that country a National Home where these op-

pressed people may find freedom and peace and may enjoy the elementary rights of human life.

HON. ANDREW C. SCHIFFLER

Representative from West Virginia

I am wholeheartedly in sympathy with the movement to reestablish the Jewish Homeland in Palestine and to permit the re-entry of Jews to their traditional land.

My efforts, as a Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and also in the House of Representatives, will be consistently and energetically exerted to achieve this objective. The persecuted Jews in Hitlerized Europe have inherent rights that must be recognized by all the people of the world, and aid given to them promptly and effectively in the solution of this great human problem.

I shall not rest content until such is achieved.

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, Jr.

Representative from Pennsylvania

Representative Scott appeared at the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made the following statement:

Mr. Chairman, I wish to join with my many colleagues in urging favorable action on the Wright and Compton resolutions asking for abrogation of the British White Paper and the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

The ruthless persecution of Jews in certain sections of Europe should bring home to all of us the urgency of establishing such a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution. Constant mortal danger still faces these people and I

can think of no greater assistance that can be rendered them at this time than an open door to Palestine. This is a matter which I believe fully merits immediate and effective action.

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

Representative from Michigan

I am in complete sympathy with the movement to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine. You may count on my support.

HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD

Representative from California

We witnessed in our times tragedies more appalling than any other happenings in modern history. Peaceful nations have been attacked and have been deeply wounded.

Yet the tragedy of the Jewish people is a singular one. Hitler has chosen the Jews as the first and foremost target of his policy of aggression. He openly proclaimed the extermination of the Jewish people as a goal of his efforts.

The only constructive answer to this challenge to our civilization is the strengthening of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. In one generation a miracle of peaceful settlement and rejuvenation of the soil has been performed there. America should not fail these heroic toilers and builders.

HON. JOHN EDWARD SHERIDAN

Representative from Pennsylvania

I have long regarded the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth as the primary solution of the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness. I feel that this is not merely a Jewish ques-

tion, but one which vitally concerns all civilized mankind. President Roosevelt gave expression to the stirrings of the conscience of America when he declared: "The interest which I have had and have frequently manifested in the rebuilding of the ancient Jewish homeland is, I am persuaded, an interest which is shared by all who recognize that every people have the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

I look forward with keen anticipation to the time when I shall have the privilege of casting my vote in the House of Representatives in favor of the Wright-Compton Resolutions.

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

Representative from Florida

The great work to provide a National Home for the Jewish people must not stop. Success awaits our continued efforts and if necessary those efforts must be redoubled and redoubled again. We know that we are right in what we do.

All that has been said in the past about the need for a Jewish Homeland has been proved by the events—many of them tragic—of recent years. As a part of the free world for which we are fighting, we should and we must insure in Palestine a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON

Representative from Pennsylvania

It is my sincere desire that the intents and purposes of the Balfour Declaration be carried out, and that Palestine be opened freely to Jewish immigration at the earliest possible moment consistent with the quick winning of the war.

HON. ROGER C. SLAUGHTER

Representative from Missouri

I have said on numerous occasions that I favor the resolutions now before the House which would place the Congress on record as recommending to the British Government that the doors of Palestine be kept open to the persecuted Jews of Europe.

HON. JOE L. SMITH

Representative from Virginia

You can depend upon my support of House Resolutions 418 and 419 if and when they are favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which committee today began hearings on these resolutions.

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

Representative from Wisconsin

I am in full sympathy with the spirit of the Wright-Compton House Resolution dealing with the Palestine situation.

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

Representative from Maine

Letters have come to me from Jewish and Gentile constituents asking me to support the resolutions which would guarantee Palestine to the Jews as a National Homeland. I have the deepest sympathy for the Jews of Europe who have been so inhumanly persecuted, and I appreciate their desire for a Home in Palestine, but there are international implications to specific legislation on the subject which I wish to consider very carefully before pledging myself to it. The Foreign Affairs Committee has been

holding hearings and listening to the opinions of those wishing to testify, and action in the House will be delayed until proposal is reported by the Committee.

HON. J. BUELL SNYDER

Representative from Pennsylvania

I believe in the Balfour Declaration which promises to the Jewish people the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home on the soil of Palestine.

However, while this global conflict is on, people as well as nations, do not think soberly along many lines because the one big factor dominating all our thoughts and actions is the defeat of Hitler and Tojo at the earliest possible moment and to save the lives of as many of our boys as possible.

At the proper time when there is more stabilization of thought throughout the world, is the time as I see it, to put into effect a Resolution embodying something like the Balfour Declaration.

HON. ANDREW L. SOMERS

Representative from New York

If nothing else, the common fate which has so tragically crept up upon the Jewish people of Europe, and its latest eruption have molded them into a nation—a nation which has suffered more casualties than all others at the hands of the common foe.

Palestine is both historically and legally the national territory of the Jews. The vanguard of the nation comprising some 600,000 people is already there. Proper conditions must be instituted immediately to facilitate the evacuation of the several million Jews still alive in Europe to Palestine where together with the Moslem

and Christian minorities they will build a country for their mutual benefit as well as for the benefit of the world.

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

Representative from Alabama

The people of Israel never has surrendered its claim to the soil of Palestine. From the days of the Bible up to our times the Jews have considered the Holy Land their Home and have prayed for the re-establishment of a Jewish State there.

Since World War I, when 52 nations of the world formally pledged themselves to the re-creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, the number of Jewish settlers in the land of their fathers, has increased by a half million. They have made the country blossom anew and they have brought health and wealth to all the inhabitants of the country, Arabs and Christians as well as Jews.

Statesmanship and humanitarianism will compel the United States to continue proudly in the support of Zionist aspirations in Palestine.

HON. BRENT SPENCE

Representative from Kentucky

I am in favor of the Balfour Declaration which promises to the Jewish people the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home on the soil of Palestine. By reason of our traditional love of liberty and assistance to the oppressed, the United States should urge our great British Allies to carry out their promise to the Jews of the world. More than 30,000 Jewish volunteers in the British forces have helped to throw Rommel and his cohorts out of Africa. More than 3,000,000 Jews have died in Europe

in the course of the campaign of annihilation instigated by the Nazis.

We owe it to these heroes, the dead ones and the living ones, to do everything possible to carry out the promise made to them to re-create a Jewish Commonwealth in the Holy Land.

HON. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER

Representative from Indiana

Simple justice should be our guide-post in keeping faith with the Jewish people and permitting the building of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. When this war is over this great people will seek happiness and security. Palestine will be that haven. We must lend a helping hand to aid in the attainment of this praiseworthy accomplishment.

HON. WINIFRED C. STANLEY

Representative from New York

Representative Stanley sent the following letter to Chairman Bloom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives:

As Representative At Large from the State of New York, and also as a member of the American Committee For Palestine, I wish to urge the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to report favorably Resolution 418, introduced by Representative Compton, of Connecticut, and Resolution 419, introduced by Representative Wright, of Pennsylvania. At a time when millions are being persecuted and slaughtered because of their religious, racial, or nationality background, all Americans are interested in doing everything possible to prevent such persecution and slaughter.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which had the effect of establishing Palestine as a Jewish homeland, and under the terms of which Jewish immigration was not limited, was, as a matter of record, endorsed by the 67th Congress in 1922. As a matter of simple justice and much-needed humanitarianism it

would seem that the so-called British White Paper of 1939 should be repealed. To close Palestine so far as Jewish immigration subsequent to March 31, 1944, is concerned, would be to refuse a place of refuge to many persecuted Jews.

It is part of our priceless heritage as Americans to oppose any and all discrimination or persecution based on race, religion, or nationality. By reporting favorably as to Resolutions No. 418 and No. 419, the distinguished Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives will, in my opinion, express the vehement sentiment of the many patriotic American Jews who reside in the Empire State, and who have written hundreds of letters urging such action.

HON. KARL STEFAN

Representative from Nebraska

Every liberty-loving man is anxious that every human being without a home and without refuge should have his most sympathetic support and assistance.

I assure you that the matter that you have discussed is having my most careful attention and consideration and I hope that these down-trodden people will eventually find refuge and peace.

HON. WILLIAM H. STEVENSON

Representative from Wisconsin

As a Member of Congress, you can count on my support of the Jewish National Homeland. I believe that the Allied Nations should unite on the Jewish National Home in Palestine as the center of a Jewish Commonwealth. I feel that such a National Home represents the ideals of international justice; and to keep faith with the Jewish people, the Allied Nations should unite to carry out this ideal. As a refuge for the distressed Jewish men, women and children who have been driven from their homes, Palestine should be set aside as a world Jewish

refuge, and as a free and democratic Commonwealth according to the provisions of the Balfour Declaration.

HON. PAUL STEWART

Representative from Oklahoma

I was taught from my mother's knee that God gave unto Abraham and his seed the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession and I want to assure you that I favor the passage of these Resolutions (No. 418 and No. 419) or any other instrument that will hold valid the solemn treaties entered into by Great Britain and the United States in 1924 when the Balfour Declaration was re-affirmed.

HON. WILLIAM G. STIGLER

Representative from Oklahoma

I look with favor upon the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and the development of a Jewish National Homeland in that country.

HON. MAURICE J. SULLIVAN

Representative from Nevada

The aspirations of the Jewish people toward the establishment of a National Homeland in Palestine, have their origin in the deepest emotions of the human heart, seeking a status advantageous alike to them and the world. I hope this movement shall succeed, for if it does a more authentic meaning will come to surround the words "Home" and "Country" and our boast of civilization will thereafter rest on a firmer foundation of truth, justice and brotherly love.

HON. FRANK L. SUNDSTROM

Representative from New Jersey

You may rest assured that I am in sympathy with the ideas expressed in these resolutions and will speak favorably on them to the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in order to secure action.

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS

Representative from New Jersey

I fully appreciate the terrible plight of the European Jews, and because of this, I agree with you that there should be a Palestine as a Jewish Homeland. As Americans we can be both sympathetic and outspoken on this question, but in the last analysis it is a matter for a Government of another country to determine. On the other hand, in this connection, our Government should make recommendations to this other Government.

HON. HARVE TIBBOTT

Representative from Pennsylvania

On February 4, 1944, I introduced in the House a Resolution from the Johnstown Jewish Community Council, Johnstown, Pennsylvania, favoring a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This Resolution was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

On February 18, I informed the Honorable Sol Bloom, Chairman of this Committee, of my great interest in the passage of this Resolution.

HON. JOHN H. TOLAN

Representative from California

The tremendous progress which the Jewish National Home has made in the last two or three decades, has

impressed America greatly. A dream has become a reality and a grandiose scheme has proven to be thoroughly practicable.

It is with the feeling of deep satisfaction that I reiterate my belief in the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and of our moral and legal duty to give it our wholehearted support.

HON. JAMES H. TORRENS

Representative from New York

The United Nations will not fail those who have stood most faithfully for the common cause. None of the nations of the earth has brought a sacrifice as gigantic as that which Hitler made the Jews to pay.

The Jews expect that the pledge of the nations of the earth will aid them in reestablishing their National Home should be honored. Our people and our Government will stand to this solemn pledge.

HON. HARRY L. TOWE

Representative from New Jersey

I favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. The ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish Homeland and I shall support the legislation introduced in the Congress to help the fulfillment of the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

HON. WILLIAM I. TROUTMAN

Representative from Pennsylvania

I believe the British White Paper policy in the Holy Land is not only unwise but injurious as well. I strongly

favor unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine. I am confident this would in a large measure solve the Jewish problem and give your people the opportunity of establishing a free and democratic commonwealth, which is the sentiment contained in the resolutions. I assure you I shall gladly give my support to such a movement.

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

Representative from California

It has always seemed to me that the ideal of making Palestine the National Homeland for the Jewish people of the world was deserving of the earnest support of thoughtful people everywhere. Furthermore, the establishment of such a Jewish Homeland in Palestine might, I believe, go a very long way toward alleviating the problems and difficulties which have beset the Jewish people in so many countries of the world. The best traditions of the race are rooted in Palestine and it is there that they might find a new opportunity to flower in this modern world.

HON. JOHN M. VORYS

Representative from Ohio

Our deepest sympathy goes out to the Jews of Europe in their unspeakable plight at the hands of the Nazis.

Their ancient homeland in Palestine should be opened to them as a refuge and should be developed as a free and democratic commonwealth.

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL

Representative from Illinois

I have been a strong supporter of, and have rather marveled at the progress which has been made in building

up Palestine as a Jewish National Home since the plan and program was mapped out under the direction of the League of Nations. I have been alarmed and distressed at the recent curtailment of the program due to supposed friction between the Arabs and the Jews. I cannot endorse the charges which have been brought about as recommended by the British Government and believe a colossal blunder is being made which will deprive the building up of a much needed industrial government which could and would bring higher living standards, progress and intelligent advancement to that section of the world which needs industrial supplies and which they cannot get short of Great Britain or Germany.

The patriotism exemplified by the Jewish people in Palestine and the progress in science and industry which has been brought to that part of the Globe I think certainly would justify the continuance of the building up of Palestine as a Jewish National Home or anchor for the people of that faith. It is not only due to them but it would be a wise, economic, political and international benefit to all nations.

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

Representative from Pennsylvania

Through the ages the Jewish people has gained strength for survival from the hope for return to Zion.

The 20th Century has brought not only the most ruthless persecution of the Jewish people but also the fulfillment of their old dream. More than one-half million men and women have set out to recultivate the soil of the land of their fathers. Among the 52 nations of the world who have officially endorsed the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine are the United States of America whose presidents from World War I to World

War II have praised the peaceful endeavors of the Palestine pioneers, and whose Congress unanimously expressed itself in 1922 in favor of a Jewish Palestine.

The American people is united in its sympathy for the Jewish people and in its hearty approval for its longing to rebuild a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. You may count on me that I shall do all in my power to contribute to the achievement of this inspiring task.

HON. ZEBULON WEAVER

Representative from North Carolina

Very few issues have found as unanimous and as non-partisan support of the American people and the Congress of the United States as the rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Home. This cause has appealed to the religious traditions of our country, to our sense of justice, and to our eagerness to help those who have been persecuted by the common enemy.

HON. SAMUEL A. WEISS

Representative from Pennsylvania

I hope and pray that the united efforts of leaders throughout the world will recognize the Balfour Declaration as international law, and that the doors of Palestine will be open to the millions of Jewish people in Europe who were made homeless by Hitler's indescribable brutality; and that a Jewish National Homeland will be thus established. Palestine is our Homeland by tradition, history and international law.

Representative Weiss also appeared at the hearings of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and made a statement urging favorable action on the Resolutions.

HON. RICHARD J. WELCH

Representative from California

The opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and the continued development of a Jewish National Homeland there meets with my wholehearted approval.

HON. ELMER H. WENE

Representative from New Jersey

I am in hearty sympathy with the movement to reestablish Palestine as the Jewish National Home.

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE

Representative from Idaho

The subject of the repatriation of the Chosen People in their ancient land of Palestine has been much in my thoughts for some time.

The problem of the Jewish race in these trying days—and in the momentous post-war era—will have to be solved successfully in any plan to restore lasting peace on this earth.

During recent years much of an agricultural nature has been accomplished in Palestine to cause the desert to blossom as the rose in preparation for the planned migration of many thousands of refugees from the turbulent conditions to be found in the invaded conquered European countries.

I welcome the opportunity to express my sentiments, and to cooperate with your organization in their endeavors to make effective their plans for the future national life and happiness of the race.

HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON

Representative from Mississippi

I have long been concerned over the tragic problem of the Jews of Europe. I believe in the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for Jewish people. Notwithstanding the White Paper of 1939, I still believe in the program and policy of a National Home for Jewish people in Palestine.

HON. VICTOR WICKERSHAM

Representative from Oklahoma

As indicated in the past I am favorable to your cause.

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

Representative from Massachusetts

I have been and am in sympathy with the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of the Congress in 1922 contemplating a Jewish Homeland for the Jewish people.

The present administration, as you know, has interposed objection to the fulfillment of this purpose. I trust that the reasoning leading to this action will not long be controlling.

I have, of course, the greatest sympathy with the Jewish people in Europe under the terrible conditions which now confront them there. In the light of present information, I expect to support the Resolution in question.

HON. EARLE D. WILLEY

Representative from Delaware

I wish to assure you that I am studying these resolutions and have a very sympathetic attitude toward their

purpose. I hope that my voice will be in accordance with your thought.

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

Representative from New Jersey

The plight of the Jews in Europe is one that should awaken the sympathy of every thoughtful American citizen. Their treatment has been so outrageous that every one should be not only sympathetic but actively interested in seeking and demanding that a remedy be applied. This duty rests with particular force upon all who are in an official position of influence. Especially should this influence be exerted to further the aims and purposes of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. This and no less should be made certain and secure.

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

Representative from Michigan

I can frankly say that in my estimation the movement in question is a most worthy and commendable one. I feel that those persons who are lending their efforts towards making this proposal a reality are due the greatest praise. I am in complete sympathy with the proposal and hope that it may materialize in the not too distant future.

HON. CLIFTON A. WOODRUM

Representative from Virginia

I am in hearty sympathy with the statement in the Democratic Platform which calls for the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration, etc.

In my judgment, the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth is most timely and appropriate. I am happy to inform you that

I am in sympathy with legislation now pending in Congress for that purpose, and shall do what I can towards its favorable passage.

HON. EUGENE WORLEY

Representative from Texas

As Woodrow Wilson said, "Our support of this movement twenty-five years ago was an act of faith and of elementary justice." While the present tragedies of war have prevented full culmination of this movement, it is one which is entitled to and should receive the most careful and helpful attention of the responsible officials at the earliest practicable time.

HON. ORVILLE ZIMMERMAN

Representative from Missouri

The restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people as a National Home is an accomplishment devoutly to be wished for by all right-thinking people. I sincerely hope to see Palestine reconstructed into a free, democratic Jewish Commonwealth as soon as the exigencies of this war will permit, and you may be assured of my earnest cooperation in this effort.

13. THE STATES

The following Resolutions were adopted by the legislative bodies of the nineteen States* enumerated below. The population of these States constitutes more than sixty per cent of the total population of Continental United States:

Alabama	Massachusetts
California	Missouri
Colorado	New Jersey
Connecticut	New York
Florida	Pennsylvania
Georgia	Rhode Island
Illinois	South Carolina
Louisiana	Texas
Maryland	Virginia
Washington	

ALABAMA

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 4, ACT No. 144
APPROVED JUNE 10, 1943

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that:

WHEREAS, the policy of the Axis powers to exterminate the Jews of Europe through mass murder cries out for action by the United Nations representing the civilized world and emphasizes the urgent need for a Jewish homeland and

WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917 the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and offering to facilitate such an endeavor and

* To these may be added Minnesota, making the total twenty. The entire Minnesota Delegation in the United States House of Representatives, through its Chairman, Representative Melvin J. Maas, unanimously adopted a Palestine Resolution calling upon the President and the Secretary of State for all possible support.

WHEREAS, on June 30, 1922 a resolution was adopted by a joint session of the Congress of the United States which approved the Balfour Declaration and it was included in the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and facilities for its further development for receiving the maximum number of Jewish refugees who have been uprooted from their homes be commended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people and the righting of an ancient wrong, but as an integral part of the new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we are now waging war and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary, Co-Chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

CALIFORNIA

ASSEMBLY CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 56—CHAPTER 131
ADOPTED BY THE SENATE MAY 11, 1939; CONCURRED IN BY THE
HOUSE MAY 12, 1939

WHEREAS, The intolerable sufferings of the Jewish people in Europe at the hands of the ruthless dictators of the Axis Powers make an irresistible appeal to the Christian world and to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations, and make clear the need for a homeland where stricken and persecuted Jewish people may settle in peace; and

WHEREAS, The favor with which Great Britain viewed the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people was evidenced by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America expressed concurrence in this policy by joint congressional resolution adopted on June 30, 1922, and by the provisions of the Anglo-American Treaty of December 2, 1924; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, THE SENATE THEREOF CONCURRING, That we favor the continued establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and its further development for the absorption

of as many Jewish refugees as may be called for by the exigencies of the situation be commended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles, to perpetuate which we are now engaged in the fiercest struggle of all time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary. Co-chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London, to the Secretary of State of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

COLORADO

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 1. ADOPTED FEBRUARY 10, 1944

WHEREAS, The persecution and attempted extermination of the Jews in Occupied Europe by Nazi Germany have outraged the conscience of the civilized world; and

WHEREAS, On the basis of authentic information in the hands of the United States Department of State, at least two million Jews have been ruthlessly annihilated, and the remainder of the Jewish communities in Europe stand in immediate danger of similar extermination unless prompt action is taken by the United Nations to provide havens of refuge for them; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of Jews are stranded in European ports desperately seeking rescue; and

WHEREAS, The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, guaranteeing the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine was approved by fifty-two Nations, including the United States, and incorporated into the treaties of peace terminating the First World War; and

WHEREAS, This policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted by both Houses of the Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, and approved by the President on September 21, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IN FIRST EXTRA-

ORDINARY SESSION CONVENED, THE SENATE CONCURRING HEREIN:

That we express our most profound sympathy toward the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the United Nations be urged to take steps to find even temporary havens of refuge, through an international rescue agency, for those homeless and hounded Jews who can be rescued immediately; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge that all barriers on Jewish immigration into Palestine be now removed so that those Jews who can find escape from Axis-dominated Europe have permanent haven in the Land of Israel in their urgent need; and we view with favor the absorption of all Jews into Palestine after the war who need or desire to go there, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right of self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this Memorial be forwarded to the President of the United States; to Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Senators and Representatives of the State of Colorado in the Congress of the United States; and to the British Embassy in Washington, D. C., for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

CONNECTICUT

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 155. ADOPTED MAY 14, 1943

RESOLUTION favoring the continued Development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

RESOLVED by this Assembly:

WHEREAS, the persecution and attempted extermination by Nazi Germany of the Jews in Occupied Europe have outraged the conscience of the civilized world and have manifested the urgent necessity of continued maintenance and development of a Jewish National Homeland; and

WHEREAS, pursuant to the treaties of peace terminating the first World War a mandate was issued approved by fifty-two nations including the United States, to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted by both Houses of the Congress of the United States

on June 30, 1922, and approved by the President on September 21, 1922;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: that the Senate and House of Representatives as the representatives of, and in the name of, the people of the State of Connecticut express our most profound sympathy toward the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we favor the continued development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine for the absorption of as many Jews as may be required by the urgent need of the Jewish people, as an integral part of the new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which the United States are now fighting; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President, to the Secretary of State of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives.

Committee Bill

Federal Relations

April 21, 1943

AMENDMENT

Offered by Senator Mortensen of the Second District, and adopted May 14, 1943.

To Substitute for Senate Joint Resolution No. 155, File No. 736, in lines 5, 9 and 20 strike out the words "Jewish National Homeland" and

Insert in lieu thereof, the following, viz: "Jewish Commonwealth."

FLORIDA

HOUSE MEMORIAL No. 4. APPROVED APRIL 27, 1943

A MEMORIAL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES REQUESTING THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917 His Majesty's Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by the United States in a joint Congressional Resolution adopted on June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3rd, 1924, and

WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heels of the Axis dictators cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations and the need for a Jewish homeland for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses after the war, has become not merely a matter of justice but of dire necessity.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Florida that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and its further development for the absorption of as many Jewish refugees as may be called for by the exigencies of the situation be commended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary, Co-Chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

Approved by the Governor April 27, 1943.

Filed in Office of Secretary of State April 27, 1943.

GEORGIA

JOINT RESOLUTION. ADOPTED FEBRUARY 24, 1943

WHEREAS on November 2nd, 1917 His Majesty's Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by the United States in a joint Congressional Resolution adopted on June 30th, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3rd, 1924, and

WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heels of the Axis Dictators cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations and the need for a Jewish homeland for stricken and persecuted Jewish masses after the war has become not merely a matter of justice but of dire necessity.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia that the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and its further

development for the absorption of as many Jewish refugees as may be called for by the exigencies of the situation be recommended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary, Co-Chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

ILLINOIS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 17. ADOPTED BY THE SENATE, APRIL 20, 1943; CONCURRED IN BY THE HOUSE, APRIL 21, 1943

WHEREAS, The ruthless persecution of the Jews in Occupied Europe by Nazi Germany has resulted in the extermination of at least two million members of that race, and the remnants of Jewish population in Europe stand in immediate danger of similar extermination unless havens of refuge are made available to them; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of Jews are massed in European ports clinging desperately to hopes of salvation; and

WHEREAS, the United Nations are faced with the solemn obligation, in the interests of humanity and justice and in accordance with the principles for which this war is being waged, to undertake steps which will facilitate the immediate removal of Jews from Europe and to provide them with a permanent haven after the termination of the war; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE SIXTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING HEREIN, That we express our profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

RESOLVED, further, that we respectfully urge the United Nations to act immediately, through an international rescue agency, in finding even temporary havens of refuge for those homeless and persecuted Jews who can now be rescued; and

RESOLVED, further, that we urge that all barriers on Jewish immigration into Palestine be now removed so that those Jews who can find escape from Axis-dominated Europe have per-

manent haven therein in accordance with the spirit and intent of the Balfour Declaration; and we view with favor the absorption of all Jews into Palestine after the war who need or desire to go there, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

LOUISIANA

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 16. ADOPTED JULY 4, 1944

"WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917, the Government of Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, promising the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people; and

"WHEREAS, the policy thus outlined was concurred in by unanimous vote of the two Houses of the Congress of the United States in a joint resolution adopted June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American Treaty of December 3, 1924, wherein the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain, respectively, contracted and agreed for the putting into effect of the

'declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country;'

"WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heel of the Nazis cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations, and the need for the full implementation of the promise of a Homeland of their own for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses has become not merely a matter of justice but a dire necessity; now, therefore,

"RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana that it express its profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully urge that the gates of Palestine be opened for the unrestricted entry and settlement of Jewish refugees, and to their unrestricted rights as promised in the Balfour Declaration; and that in pursuance of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, and of the solemn compact between the Governments of the United States and His Majesty's Government, there be established such political, economic, and administrative conditions as will insure the development of Palestine into a self-governing Commonwealth, which shall be an integral part of a new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which we now fight; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be spread upon the records of this House, and the Clerk of the House be and he is hereby directed to send copies thereof to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State, and to the two Senators from Louisiana and to each of the Representatives of Louisiana in the National House of Representatives."

MARYLAND

RESOLUTION. ADOPTED MARCH 26, 1943

WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917, His Majesty's Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people; and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by the United States in a joint Congressional Resolution adopted on June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924; and

WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heels of the Axis Dictators cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations and the need for a Jewish homeland for stricken and persecuted Jewish masses after the war has become not merely a matter of justice but of dire necessity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the House of Delegates and Senate of Maryland, That the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and its further development for the absorption of as many

Jewish refugees as may be called for by the exigencies of the situation be commended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right of self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this Resolution be spread upon the Journal of the House of Delegates and Senate and that the Chief Clerk be and he is hereby directed to send copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary, Co-Chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

MASSACHUSETTS

JOINT RESOLUTION. ADOPTED BY THE SENATE MAY 11, 1939;
CONCURRED IN BY THE HOUSE MAY 12, 1939

WHEREAS, Recognition has been given by the nations of the world to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America has given its approval to the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, as embodied in a resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States known as "The Lodge Resolution"; and

WHEREAS, The General Court of Massachusetts deplores the persecution of peoples in any land based upon racial bigotry and religious intolerance and has on previous occasions expressed its sympathetic interest in the Jewish National aspirations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the General Court of Massachusetts expresses its concern in the welfare of the Jewish National Home and its admiration of the progress made in Palestine by the efforts of the Jewish pioneers;

That it is inspiring to behold an ancient people to return to the land of its origin for the purpose of being able to live its own life, to develop its own culture and civilization and to mold its national destiny; and

That it views with favor the achievements of the Jewish pioneers in Palestine where opportunities were created for tens of thousands of Jews to return to the land of their fathers as of right and not on sufferance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States of America be and is respectfully solicited to use its good offices for the purpose of safeguarding the integrity of the Balfour Declaration and the interest of the Jewish National Home, in accordance with the terms of the Palestine Mandate, and to the end that the doors of Palestine may be opened for the purpose of admitting the homeless Jewish victims of racial bigotry and religious intolerance, where they may find the opportunity of rebuilding their broken lives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth.

MISSOURI

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 10. APPROVED BY THE HOUSE APRIL 2, 1943; CONCURRED IN BY THE SENATE, APRIL 8, 1943

WHEREAS, the conscience of the civilized world has been outraged by the continued persecution and extermination of many peoples in the conquered countries of Europe; and

WHEREAS, at the conclusion of this war a great number of the oppressed and downtrodden people of Europe will find themselves homeless, despoiled and desperately in need of a refuge to reconstruct their shattered lives; and

WHEREAS, the Jewish people of Europe are victims of Nazi oppression and attempted extermination not only in occupied Europe, but also within Nazi Germany; and

WHEREAS, pursuant to the treaties of peace terminating the first World War, a Mandate was issued and approved by fifty two nations, including the United States, for a Jewish National Home in Palestine; and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted unanimously by both Houses of the Congress of the United States on June 30th, 1922, and approved by the President on September 21, 1922; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives of the 62nd General Assembly of Missouri, the Senate concurring therein, express its most profound sympathy towards the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we urge the fullest cooperation of the United Nations in punishing those responsible for this horrible

crime against humanity and to alleviate suffering through an international rescue agency; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we favor the continued development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine for the absorption of as many Jews as may be required by the urgent need of the Jewish people and the development there of a Jewish Commonwealth as an integral part of the new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which the United Nations are now fighting; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State; the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

NEW JERSEY

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 6.
ADOPTED FEBRUARY 14, -944

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION memorializing the Congress of the United States to use its prestige to cause the doors of Palestine to be opened for Jewish immigration.

WHEREAS, European Jewry was the first victim of the enemies of democracy, having been singled out for especial attack and ruthless persecution to an extent which has shocked the conscience of the civilized world; and

WHEREAS, Great Britain issued on November second, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, the Balfour Declaration pledging the establishment of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people; and

WHEREAS, This policy was not only incorporated into the Mandate for Palestine, but was also concurred in by the United States in a joint Congressional Resolution of 1922, and further sanctioned in the British-American Convention of 1924; and

WHEREAS, This declared policy of the British and United States governments was in effect abrogated by the Chamberlain administration through the issuance of the Palestine White Paper of 1939 which will by its terms stop all further Jewish immigration into the Holy Land by March thirty-first, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, thereby sealing the doom of the remnant of the Jewish population of occupied Europe; and

WHEREAS, This act of inhumanity constitutes a violation of international covenants solemnly entered into and is contrary to the traditional American sense of justice and fair play; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey (the House of Assembly concurring):

1. The Legislature expresses its profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi persecution, which challenges all traditions and teachings of Christianity and Americanism.

2. The Legislature of the State of New Jersey respectfully urges and petitions the President of the United States, Congress and the Secretary of State to use the weight and prestige of their respective offices to the end that the doors of the ancestral home of the Jewish people shall be opened wide for free entry of all Jews who are in need of a haven of refuge and desire to build their homes there; and that in pursuance of its clear intent and purpose, the pledge of the Balfour Declaration be honored so as to bring about the development of a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, which shall become a part of the new democratic world order in accordance with the Fight for the Four Freedoms in which we are engaged.

3. The Secretary of the State of New Jersey be and he is hereby directed to forward copies of this concurrent resolution to the President of the United States, the Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Senators and Representatives of the State of New Jersey in the Congress of the United States.

4. This concurrent resolution shall take effect immediately.

NEW YORK

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 38. ADOPTED BY THE SENATE AND BY THE ASSEMBLY ON MARCH 8, 1943

WHEREAS, the persecution and attempted extermination by Nazi Germany of the Jews in Occupied Europe have outraged the conscience of the civilized world and have manifested the necessity of continued maintenance and development of a Jewish National Homeland; and

WHEREAS pursuant to the treaties of peace terminating the first World War, Mandate was issued approved by fifty-two nations including the United States, to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; and

WHEREAS this policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted by both Houses of the Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922 and approved by the President on September 21, 1922;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we of the State of New York express our most profound sympathy toward

the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge the fullest cooperation of the United Nations in punishing those responsible for this horrible crime against humanity, and in alleviating suffering through an international rescue agency; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we favor the continued development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine for the absorption of as many Jews as may be required by the urgent needs of the Jewish people, as an integral part of the new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which the United Nations are now fighting; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President and to the Secretary of State of the United States, the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PENNSYLVANIA

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 94. ADOPTED MAY 7, 1943

WHEREAS, the persecution and attempted extermination by Nazi Germany of the Jews in occupied Europe have outraged the conscience of the civilized world and emphasized the tragedy of the Jewish problem in Europe, and

WHEREAS, at the conclusion of the war great number of Jews in Europe will find themselves homeless, despoiled and desperately in need of a refuge where they may reconstruct their shattered lives, and

WHEREAS, pursuant to the treaties of peace terminating the first world war, a Mandate was issued approved by fifty-two nations including the United States, to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted unanimously by both Houses of the Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922 and approved by the President on September 21, 1922; therefore be it

RESOLVED (if the Senate concurs) that we of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania express our most profound sympathy toward the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge the fullest cooperation of the United Nations in punishing those responsible for this horrible crime against humanity, and in alleviating suffering through an international rescue agency; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we favor the continued development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine for the absorption of as many Jews as may be required by the urgent needs of the Jewish people and the full development there of the Jewish Homeland in the democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which the United Nations are now fighting; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President and to the Secretary of State of the United States, the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

RHODE ISLAND

JOINT RESOLUTION No. 58, S. 150. APPROVED MARCH 3, 1944

WHEREAS, There are now pending in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in Congress resolutions introduced by Senator Wagner, of New York, and Senator Taft, of Ohio, relative to the abrogation of the "White Paper" and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, while in the House Foreign Affairs Committee are also similar resolutions introduced by Congressman McCormack, of Massachusetts, and Congressman Wright, of Pennsylvania; and

WHEREAS, This is a tragic hour for millions of European Jews who have been mercilessly persecuted merely because of their faith and the hour has now come when this country of the United States should reaffirm its support of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth and unequivocally make known its opposition to the "White Paper"; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States be and they are earnestly urged to support these resolutions relative to the abrogation of the "White Paper" and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in order that their passage may be assured; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of State is hereby authorized and directed to transmit to said Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in Congress duly certified copies of this resolution.

. SOUTH CAROLINA

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE AND
CONCURRED IN BY THE SENATE APRIL 14, 1943

WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917 His Majesty's Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and,

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by the United States in a Joint Congressional Resolution adopted on June 30, 1922 and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924 and

WHEREAS, the suffering of the Jews in Europe under the heels of the Axis dictators cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations and the need for a Jewish homeland for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses after the war has become not merely a matter of justice but of dire necessity,
NOW THEREFORE,

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

That the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and its further development for the absorption of as many Jewish refugees as may be called for by the exigencies of the situation be commended to the considered judgment of the United Nations, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to Senators Wagner and McNary, Co-Chairmen of the American Palestine Committee, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

TEXAS

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 85, ADOPTED BY THE
HOUSE APRIL 2, 1943, CONCURRED IN BY THE SENATE
APRIL 6, 1943

WHEREAS, The persecution and attempted extermination of the Jews in Occupied Europe by Nazi Germany have outraged the conscience of the civilized world; and

WHEREAS, On the basis of authentic information in the hands of the United States Department of State, at least two

million Jews have been ruthlessly annihilated and the remainder of the Jewish communities in Europe stand in immediate danger of similar extermination unless prompt action is taken by the United Nations to provide havens of refuge for them; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of Jews are stranded in European ports desperately seeking rescue; and

WHEREAS, The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, guaranteeing the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine was approved by fifty-two Nations, including the United States, and incorporated into the treaties of peace terminating the First World War; and

WHEREAS, This policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted by both Houses of the Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, and approved by the President on September 21, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That we express our most profound sympathy toward the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United Nations be urged to take steps to find even temporary havens of refuge, through an international rescue agency, for those homeless and hounded Jews who can be rescued immediately; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that all barriers on Jewish immigration into Palestine be now removed so that those Jews who can find escape from Axis-dominated Europe have permanent haven in the Land of Israel in their urgent need; and we view with favor the absorption of all Jews into Palestine after the war who need or desire to go there, not only as an act of justice to the Jewish people, but as an integral part of a new democratic world order in which every people shall have the right to self-government and self-determination in accordance with the principles for which we now fight; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and to the British Embassy in Washington for transmission to the proper authorities in London.

VIRGINIA

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 8. ADOPTED BY THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE, FEBRUARY, 1944

WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917, His Majesty's Government issued the Balfour Declaration viewing with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people; and

WHEREAS, this policy was concurred in by the United States in a joint Congressional Resolution adopted June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American treaty of December 3, 1924; and

WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews of Europe under the heel of the Nazis cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations, and the need for the full implementation of the promise of a Homeland of their own for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses has become not merely a matter of justice but a dire necessity; now, therefore

RESOLVED by the Senate, the House of Delegates concurring, that the members of the General Assembly of Virginia express their profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully urge that the gates of Palestine be opened for the entry and settlement of as many Jewish refugees as may need or desire to go there; and that in pursuance of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration there be established such political, economic, and administrative conditions as will insure the development of Palestine into a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth, which shall be an integral part of a new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which we fight; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be spread upon the records of the General Assembly, and the Clerk of the Senate be and he is hereby directed to send copies thereof to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL No. 1. ADOPTED MARCH 5, 1944

TO THE HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE HONORABLE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent and petition your Excellency and Honorable Bodies as follows:

WHEREAS, documented reports of our State Department and continuous dispatches from Europe, while telling a horrible story of the atrocities to which the conquered peoples of Europe are being subjected, definitely reveal that the Jewish people of these occupied countries have been specifically earmarked for utter annihilation, and

WHEREAS, until now the world has, with great horror, learned that more than three million of innocent Jewish men, and women and children have been subjected to death by tortures unparalleled in human history in lands where their fathers and forefathers have lived for centuries, and

WHEREAS, there now remains, in these occupied countries, many millions of those who escaped these mass annihilations by the generosity of their non-Jewish friends; who are engaged in heroic underground activities to defeat our common enemy, and who are waiting for the hour of liberations, and

WHEREAS, the President of the United States of America, on behalf of civilized humanity, initiated the War Refugee Board, a governmental agency, to do all it can to save those who can still be saved; to find them havens of refuge, and

WHEREAS, we must recognize that while it is our duty to secure the rights of each individual to return to his or her former residence, hundreds of thousands of these Jewish victims will be unable to return to their former countries which inevitably will recall to them the horrible death of their loved ones, thus clearly demonstrating the urgent need to end the homelessness of the Jewish people, and

WHEREAS, we have observed with admiration the reconstruction of the Jewish homeland in Palestine, resulting from the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations' Mandate entrusted to Great Britain with the sanction of our country, and have watched with pride the great role played in the upbuilding of Palestine by the Jewish people, a community which contributed greatly to the war efforts of the United Nations and simultaneously absorbing hundreds of thousands of refugees from European countries, and

WHEREAS, Palestine possesses, through modern irrigation and industrial development, the absorptive capacity, and Palestinian Jewry is willing to assume the responsibility of resettling

their brethren, victims of the Nazi persecution, in large numbers, and

WHEREAS, resolutions have been presented in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States of America on this subject, and reads as follows:

WHEREAS, the 67th Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved, "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected," and

WHEREAS, the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Washington State Legislature now in special session at Olympia, Washington, hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States of America to reaffirm the unanimous stand of the Congress on June 1922, and adopt the above mentioned bipartisan resolution, which will bring succor to the victims of Nazi persecution by keeping the doors of Palestine wide open and enable the Jewish people to reconstitute there a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

14. THE MUNICIPALITIES

Palestine Resolutions were also adopted by the Assemblies, Councils and Boards of a great many Municipalities all over the United States. These included large cities and small towns. Their full number is difficult to ascertain. Among them are the following:

Barre, Vt.	Miami Beach, Fla.
Bayonne, N. J.	Milwaukee, Wis.
Birmingham, Ala.	Montpelier, Vt.
Burlington, Vt.	Newark, N. J.
Chelsea, Mass.	New York, N. Y.
Denver, Colo.	Paterson, N. J.
Elizabeth, N. J.	Rutland, Vt.
Hudson, N. Y.	St. Albans, Vt.
Irvington, N. J.	Syracuse, N. Y.
Jersey City, N. J.	Taunton, Mass.
Johnstown, Pa.	Trenton, N. J.
Lawrence, Mass.	Uniontown, Pa.
Lynn, Mass.	Vergennes, Vt.
Miami, Fla.	Waltham, Mass.

also

Milwaukee County, Wis.
Mayors' Club of Massachusetts
Mayors' Club of Vermont

The following two Resolutions are typical of those adopted in cities and towns throughout the United States:

NEW YORK, N. Y.

RESOLUTION No. 22. ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL
FEBRUARY 8, 1944

WHEREAS, England intends to stop further Jewish immigration into Palestine on March 31, 1944; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe find themselves homeless and have no other refuge or escape from lands of intolerance and oppression; and

WHEREAS, A resolution endorsing the Balfour Declaration was passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States and approved by the President; and

WHEREAS, The United States entered into a covenant with Great Britain which guaranteed to the United States and its citizens all rights and privileges of residence and commerce in Palestine; and

WHEREAS, The said treaty further guaranteed that there would be no changes or alterations in the mandate for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, without the consent of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Millions of citizens of the City of New York are of Jewish Faith and have next of kin and relatives seeking a haven of refuge in Palestine from Nazi and Fascist oppression abroad; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Council of The City of New York that we respectfully memorialize the New York City Congressional Representation to petition the Secretary of State Cordell L. Hull, to make representations to the British Government that the United States confidently expect Great Britain in the interests of humanity, tolerance and justice and the observance of international covenants to complete the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and to that end, that immigration into Palestine be continued without interruption and that the White Paper be abrogated.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMON COUNCIL JANUARY 24, 1944

WHEREAS, The persecution and attempted extermination by Nazi Germany of the Jews in occupied Europe have outraged the conscience of the civilized world and emphasized the tragedy of the Jewish problem in Europe; and

WHEREAS, At the conclusion of the war great numbers of Jews in Europe will find themselves homeless, despoiled and desperately in need of a refuge where they may reconstruct their shattered lives; and

WHEREAS, Pursuant to the treaties of peace terminating the first World War, a mandate was issued approved by fifty-two nations including the United States to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; and

WHEREAS, This policy was concurred in by a Joint Resolution adopted unanimously by both Houses of the Congress of

the United States on June 30, 1922, and approved by the President on September 21, 1922; and

WHEREAS, The British White Paper of 1939 which decrees the complete cessation of Jewish immigration into Palestine by the end of March, 1944, is a flagrant violation of the British mandate on Palestine which guarantees the right of Jews to emigrate into and settle in Palestine; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, express our most profound sympathy toward the victims of Nazi persecution and racial hatred; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the continued development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine for the absorption of as many Jews as may be required by the urgent needs of the Jewish people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939 which restricts the right of Jews to emigrate to Palestine; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President and the Secretary of State of the United States and to our local Congressmen.

In addition to the Resolutions adopted by States and the Municipalities many others were passed at meetings and conferences held in all parts of the United States. These meetings virtually numbered in the thousands and took place, it is safe to say, in every State of the Union, in every important City and in most of the smaller Communities. Jews and non-Jews participated in these calls for the abrogation of the British White Paper of 1939 and for the establishment of a democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The American Jewish Conference, representing practically every National Jewish organization in America, adopted a strong Zionist Resolution, almost unanimously, in September 1943. This repeated the action of the American Jewish Congress of March, 1918, which was then the largest Jewish representative body in America.

15. NON-OFFICIAL GROUPS

The voices of Jewish Zionist bodies were naturally heard. However, the tremendous influence of several non-Jewish organizations can hardly be overestimated. Outstanding among them are the American Palestine Committee headed by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, and the Christian Council on Palestine, presided over by the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. The membership roster of the Committee reads like a very select list from Who's Who in America. It contains more than a majority of the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives (including the Majority and the Minority Leaders of both Houses). It includes more than one-half of the Governors of the States, a large number of Mayors of cities and towns, leading Jurists on Federal, State and local tribunals, an impressive number of College and University Presidents, educators and teachers, many writers and editors, commentators, publishers, industrialists, labor leaders and many others covering every phase and activity of American life. The Council consists primarily of leaders of the Christian churches of almost all denominations, outstanding divines and religious teachers.

To these two influential bodies may be added the American Jewish Trade Union Committee consisting of representatives of organized labor, non-Jewish and Jewish. This Committee, of recent origin, has been very helpful in the wide sphere of its activities. In this connection it may be noted that the American Federation of Labor at its last Convention and the Congress of Industrial Organizations at its last annual meeting each adopted strong pro-Palestine Resolutions. A number of Trade Union Inter-

nationals and State labor federations, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as well as those having an independent status, adopted similar Resolutions.

A very impressive Conference, widely heralded all over America, was held in Washington on March 9, 1944. It was called The National Conference on Palestine. It was sponsored by the American Palestine Committee in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, the Christian Council on Palestine, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Free World Association, the Union for Democratic Action, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice and the United Christian Council for Democracy.

The delegates to this Conference, all non-Jews, came from every section of the United States. At its four memorable sessions some pertinent problems of Zionism and the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine were discussed.

Those who addressed the Conference were the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, the Rev. Richard Evans, Dr. Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard University, Prof. S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College, Governor Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, Hon. Norman M. Littell, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief Soil Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Hon. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Dr. Daniel C. Marsh, President of Boston University, Representative George E. Outland of California, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, President of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Executive Secretary of the Christian Council on Palestine, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace and Mr. William

B. Ziff. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver delivered the final address of the Conference as co-Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The following Resolutions were adopted:

We join with millions of other American Christians in expressing our horror that the appalling assault against the Jewish people continues unabated. In a decade scarred by the sadism of Hitler, the mass destruction of the Jewish people has gone on unceasingly. Millions of Jews are victims of the bestial cruelty of Hitler and his murdering hordes. Through starvation, torture, and violence, the insane savagery is being visited even today upon the defenseless remnant. And the end is not yet. The death toll mounts daily. Little, if any, organized action has been taken by the United Nations to provide for the survivors of Hitler's attempt to annihilate a people.

The forces of freedom have now at last assumed the offensive. Victory is within our grasp. It is now clear that we will win the war, and with the victory will come the responsibility of rebuilding a world in which all people may live their lives free from aggression and free from fear.

As American citizens, we recognize and assert it to be the basic right of the Jews, as individuals, to enjoy the same privileges of freedom and equality as others enjoy. If Jews are to have these basic rights, Christians everywhere must enlist actively in the struggle against discrimination and prejudice, against the persecution of racial and religious minorities, against the ignorance and falsehood which give rise to the anti-Jewish agitation of democracy's enemies. The Christian world must rededicate itself to the heritage it has received from Judaism, the mother faith of Christianity.

We also recognize it to be the right of Jews, as a people, to dwell in Palestine and to have in Palestine a homeland where they may achieve self-determination and be freed from the spectre of homelessness which has haunted them for centuries.

It is our conviction that rehabilitation for the surviving Jewish victims of Hitlerism must be the first task in the United Nations' reconstruction of society. It is also our conviction that a significant contribution to this task of rehabilitation can be made through the establishment of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. The right to a Jewish homeland was recognized, during the first World War, by the Balfour Declaration. By a League of Nations Mandate to Great Britain, the fifty-one

member nations and our own government approved the re-establishment of the Jewish people in Palestine and, in accordance with the terms of the Palestine Mandate, designated Great Britain as a trustee charged with the obligation to facilitate its fulfillment. In the intervening quarter of a century, a barren wilderness has been transformed into a garden spot; hundreds of thousands of people have been enabled to reconstruct their lives; and the ground has been prepared for the absorption of several million new immigrants. Palestine has justified itself by its contribution to the defeat of the Axis and by its establishment of an outpost vital to the defense of the democracies.

The rise of Fascism and the retreat of the democracies during the last decade threatened the foundations of international law under which the Jewish National Home was established. A policy of appeasement obstructed and limited the work and resulted in the 1939 Chamberlain-MacDonald White Paper on Palestine, which was aimed at the liquidation of the promise, the destruction of an age-old hope. Under that White Paper, Jewish immigration into Palestine was limited to 75,000 within a five year period, which terminates March 31, 1944; Jewish land purchases were drastically limited; and the Jewish population was congealed into a permanent one-third minority. After March 31, 1944, no new Jewish immigration beyond the 75,000 is to be permitted. The conscience of the civilized world cannot permit this last final blow against the Jewish people in its darkest hour.

Therefore, we join with a large majority of the British people in agreeing with Winston Churchill, who, in 1939, denounced the Palestine White Paper "as a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration."

We associate ourselves also with the view of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which declined to give approval or sanction to the White Paper on the ground that it was inconsistent with the terms of the Mandate.

We call for the abrogation of the 1939 White Paper on the grounds of justice, mercy and in the interests of our common humanity. We call for its abrogation also, because the White Paper is a breach of covenants in contravention of international law, and a violation of the terms of the Mandate, as well as of the Anglo-American agreement of 1924, under which no change materially affecting the character of the Mandate could be made without the consent of the United States.

While we are completely aware of the problems and responsibilities of our military and diplomatic leaders, we are firmly convinced that the technique of appeasement, which has failed to

serve the cause of peace and democracy in other parts of the world, cannot provide the basis of an enduring and equitable solution of the Palestine problem. Here, as elsewhere, the decision must be based on justice rather than on expediency.

We, therefore, reaffirm our faith in the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration and ask for maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization and economic development.

We reaffirm the traditional policy of our Government and ask for all effective measures to the end that Palestine may be reconstituted by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

We urge the passage, at the earliest opportunity, by the Senate and the House, of the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions now under discussion in Committees, so that these objectives may be the more speedily achieved.

A second Resolution was adopted as follows:

To promote and effectuate the purpose of this Conference the Chairman is authorized to appoint a Planning Committee of from seven to nine members to consult with the officers of the American Palestine Committee and of all the cooperating organizations with a view to the adoption of a common program of action to be recommended to all participants and constituents of the Conference.

The following Resolution was adopted by the American Federation of Labor, at its Convention in Boston, October 9, 1943:

WHEREAS, Newspaper dispatches from Europe, and the documented reports of the State Department tell a horrible story of the atrocities to which the conquered peoples of Europe have been subjected. In Czechoslovakia the destruction of Lidice was but a symbol of the calculated plans of the Nazis to break the spirit of an entire nation. In Poland the best minds of the country, the leading spirits of all classes, the leaders of the labor movement, have been executed as part of the planned Nazi policy to leave the Poles without leadership and without direction. In Holland the Nazi loosed their bombs on Rotterdam after the city had surrendered, and thousands of women and children were butchered to strike fear into the hearts of their fighting men. Today Nazi soldiers are bayoneting Italian civilians on the

streets of Italian cities to satisfy their lust for revenge against their former ally, and

WHEREAS, Horror piles upon horror. Terror is the lot of all, and

WHEREAS, It has been reserved for the Jewish population of occupied Europe to be marked for mass extermination. History knows no parallel to the bestial cruelties by which the Nazis are carrying out their resolve to destroy the entire people. Herded into walled ghettos, they are denied food and drink until life departs from their bodies. Crowded into specially constructed gas chambers, they are asphyxiated to death by their Nazi executioners. Hunted like animals through the streets, they are shot down or clubbed to death when their torturers have tired of their sport, and

WHEREAS, The world has seen more than 3,000,000 Jews in occupied Europe starved, hunted, gassed, clubbed and machine-gunned. Today there remains but a tiny remnant of an ancient people in lands where their fathers and forefathers have lived for centuries, and

WHEREAS, The conscience of the civilized world recoils with horror at the fiendish crimes perpetrated by the Nazis on a defenseless people, and

WHEREAS, Civilized humanity owes it to its own conscience to undo, so far as can be undone, the inhuman plans of the Nazi barbarians and to save those who can still be saved from the fate that has been suffered by 3,000,000 of their people and,

WHEREAS, to this end, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the United Nations to take immediate steps to rescue the remaining Jews of occupied Europe. We call upon the United Nations, and our own country, to provide for them temporary haven in their territories. We urge that where immigration restrictions impede the work of rescue they be temporarily lifted, and that in our own country quotas be enlarged where necessary so that those Jews who can still be snatched from the bloody hands of the Nazis may find a temporary resting place until the war is over, when they may once more take up their abode in their native lands, and

WHEREAS, We urge that our Government in the meanwhile, together with the governments of our Allied, warn the men by whose orders these inhuman deeds have been perpetrated that they will be treated as outlaws from humanity, and outcasts from the world; and that they will be punished for their crimes against the helpless and the downtrodden, and

WHEREAS, The Nazis, as part of their plan for world domination, have introduced into Europe a calculated chaos. They have uprooted millions of Frenchmen, Norwegians, Hollanders, Belgians, Russians and Poles from their homeland. They have looted everything movable in every land where they have set their heel. Victory will not be complete until the monstrous skein of planned chaos is unravelled. The United Nations, as the trustees for the conscience of civilization, must resolve that these millions shall return to their homes, shall recover their property, shall be able once more as free men to live on the fruits of their toil. And precisely because the Nazis spent their greatest efforts on the uprooting and extermination of the Jews above all other people, the United Nations must make a special effort to foil the Nazi plans, and enable the Jews, who have suffered most at the hands of the Nazis, to return to their former residences and occupations, with their political, economic, and civil rights restored, and

WHEREAS, When all this has been done, when charity and kindness and human decency have bound up the wounds left by our enemies, there will still be those among the Jews who will have no home, no nation, to which they can return. The American Federation of Labor has in the past expressed its profound sympathy with the national aspirations of the Jewish people. And today, more than ever, the American Federation of Labor calls upon the world to fulfill its long-standing pledge to the Jewish people by enabling them to build up their own homeland, and by opening wide the doors of Palestine to the victims of the Nazi terror, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has observed with admiration the reconstruction of the Jewish homeland since the Balfour Declaration recognizing the special claim of the Jewish people to the soil of Palestine. It has watched with pride the great role played in the upbuilding of Palestine by the forces of organized labor there, and

WHEREAS, The world is fortunate that there exists a Jewish homeland, whose sons stood at the gateway of the East and held it against the Nazi war machine until the full forces of the United Nations could be brought to bear to expel the Germans from Asia and Africa. It is fortunate that there will exist tomorrow a Jewish commonwealth to which may turn those victims of Nazi oppression who have no other homeland, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges upon our Government and upon the Government of Great Britain, which has a special responsibility in the matter, that the Balfour

Declaration be fully implemented, that the right of the Jewish people to a national home in Palestine be reaffirmed, and that every aid and encouragement be given to enable the victims of Nazi persecution to settle upon their ancient soil and make it bloom once more as it did in the days of the prophets.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, at its Convention in Philadelphia, November, 1943:

We note with great satisfaction that the Jewish communities in Palestine have already made noteworthy contributions to the winning of the war against fascism.

We support the demands of Palestinian Jews for all opportunity for unrestricted participation on the battlefield and for the unrestricted opportunity to make an agricultural and industrial contribution to the war effort.

We join in their demands for the abrogation of the so-called Chamberlain White Paper which would close all Jewish immigration into Palestine by April 1944, as discriminatory, unfair, unjust and a hindrance to the war effort.

The leaders of the Zionist Movement in America and their supporters, had further reason to be gratified when the two major political parties of the country recognized the justice of the Jewish Claims to Palestine.

Assembled in Chicago on June 27, 1944, the Republican Party adopted the following Plank in its Platform:

"In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic Commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them."

On July 20, 1944, the Democratic Party, meeting in the same City, incorporated in its Platform the following Plank:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

16. INDIVIDUALS

Many prominent Americans have expressed their sympathy with the Jewish aspirations for the upbuilding of their Homeland in Palestine. To cite all of these expressions, or merely to list the names of these pro-Zionist non-Jewish personalities, would be impracticable and impossible. Hence only a comparative few will be cited here:

(a) Members of the Federal Government

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace:

In recent years, many efforts have been made to give bodily form to the spiritual message of the prophets. The cooperative movement which flowered so marvelously in Scandinavia, Switzerland and Holland is such an effort. So also is the Zionist settlement in Palestine, and so, I believe, are many of our own New Deal efforts.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States Frank Murphy:

Your efforts to help build a sanctuary for the harried and homeless of the Jewish people have a mighty appeal to those of us of other faiths and races. . . . We recall that America itself came into being at the hands of harried and homeless people, searching for the blessings of peace and freedom. Remembering their great struggle, we sympathize the more with this effort of yours to create in Palestine a haven of refuge and a center of culture where your kith and kin, free from oppression and persecution, can find life and peace in the land of their forefathers.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States Robert H. Jackson:

These are the qualities he brought to guidance and advocacy of a national home in Palestine for his people after centuries of exile, dispersion and persecution. What true American would

not rejoice to see the fulfillment of Brandeis' vision that men of his stock should resurrect the life and culture of the people of the Bible in that little land where our faith was founded? If the stock of Brandeis is of one fibre with him, their modern oppressors will find, as the Egyptian taskmasters found of the Children of Israel, that "the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew."

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox:

Every American, irrespective of creed or doctrine, views with understanding the efforts being made for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes:

Certainly no cause confronting the Jews is deserving of more sympathetic consideration than that of the reestablishment of the Homeland.

Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission:

Palestine, founded on solid democratic principles, offers more than a haven and a refuge for the oppressed. From the ashes of a far distant past, the Holy Land arises as an asylum for idealistic aspiration and material living, awakening appreciation of human dignity and freedom. In Palestine there is promise and increasing realization of rich returns in cultural, spiritual and human values which are indispensable to a free people. These ideals are not the sole property of Jews nor are they found only in Palestine. They belong to Holland, and Denmark, and Belgium, and Norway, and Poland, and France, and, most of all, they are identical with the ideals embodied in our own Constitution.

(b) *Governors*

Governor Raymond E. Baldwin of Connecticut:

I strongly endorse the movement for free entry of Jews into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish National Home there as soon as possible.

Governor J. M. Broughton of North Carolina:

I am in full sympathy with the purposes of the movement to

open the doors of Palestine to the uprooted and homeless Jews of Europe, and earnestly trust that necessary legislation and agreement can be effected for this purpose.

Governor Prentice Cooper of Tennessee:

Whereas, the White Paper, which limits immigration of Jews after April, 1944, is greatly to be deplored, it is hoped that terms of this paper will be relaxed so that Palestine will continue to receive oppressed and persecuted Jews from all over the world.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York:

A way can and must be found by our government, working with the British, to bring to an end the operation of the White Paper. For more than twenty years every President of the United States has supported Palestine as a Jewish homeland. The failure to find a home for the helpless victims of Nazi oppression must be regarded with abhorrence by Jews and Christians alike.

Governor Walter Edge of New Jersey:

All the far-sighted and tolerant citizenry necessarily must have sympathy for any movement to assure your people a home and community life of their own.

Governor Spessard L. Holland of Florida:

Deeply mindful of the horrible persecution of the Jews of Europe, I join with you in the fervent hope that the doors of Palestine will remain open so that the uprooted may find refuge and peace away from the hatred and brutality they are now called upon to endure.

Governor Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming:

In the light of all that the Jewish people have suffered and endured at the hands of the brutal Nazis, to close Palestine to further immigration by Jewish people is unthinkable. I hope that all Wyoming Christians of good will and justice will join me in this expression of sympathy.

Governor Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina:

The Jews were solemnly promised this land of Palestine where they could settle and maintain a Jewish commonwealth. But Mr. Chamberlain, in 1939, following his policy of appeasement, issued

a White Paper which denied the Jewish people complete admission of settlement in Palestine. At that time Mr. Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, called this paper a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration.

Governor Harry F. Kelly of Michigan:

The movement to open the doors of Palestine to the uprooted Jews of Europe should have the sympathetic support of every humanitarian. The plight of these people is a challenge to all those who abhor oppression and cruelty.

Governor J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island:

The mandate to which we have given our concurrence is being nullified in practise, without our consent, and without even following the procedure laid down in the mandate itself.

Our immediate protest is being directed against that inept, unwise and unworthy policy which makes our own government stand idly by watching this moral error, a legal misdeed, being perpetrated without us exercising our right to cry out against it, without us discharging our duty to cry "Halt."

They are excluded from entering Palestine as a matter of policy. They are forbidden to purchase land in most of Palestine as a matter of policy. We did not stand for it when Czarist Russia tried to do it decades ago. We did not stand for it when the Hitlerite Germany tried to do it a short decade ago. Why should we silently acquiesce in such a course now?

I, as a Christian, know that all Christians would like to see the Jewish dream realized, to the end that once again there shall flourish in the Holy Land of Palestine a Jewish State whose very air will be as full of wisdom and holiness as the Palestine of the prophets which gave to mankind The Holy Book, so universally comforting to the world.

Christ was born in Palestine; Christ preached and taught in Palestine; Christ rose in Palestine. I am sure that Christ wants to see the race from which He sprang again to live, prosper and spread His noble and divine teachings in Palestine.

Governor Edward Martin of Pennsylvania:

Knowing the plight of the Jewish people of Europe, I join with you in urging the free entry of Jews into Palestine. I sincerely hope that there will be established in Palestine a home where the wandering, disinherited and harassed Jews who have

no permanent haven may find peace and freedom in their ancestral home.

It is an American ideal to support all freedom-loving peoples in their striving toward self-realization.

I bid you Godspeed in your efforts to make Palestine a real home for the Jewish people.

Governor Sidney P. Osborn of Arizona:

I am ready, willing, and glad to do my part to take up with the state department and with the President the matter of bringing to the attention of the British government, that we as decent, freedom-loving people demand that the Balfour Declaration be carried out and the White Paper withdrawn.

Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts:

The establishment of this colony (tract of 1,320 acres acquired in Palestine through the Jewish National Fund of New England for the settlement of 600 Jewish families now facing danger in Hungary and Rumania, bearing name of "Commonwealth of Massachusetts") is a manifestation of faith in the triumph of the cause of the United Nations and the future of Palestine.

It will serve to associate the democratic ideals of the founding fathers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts with those of the Jewish pioneers laying the foundation of the Jewish Homeland upon the sacred soil of their fathers.

Governor J. Thye of Minnesota:

Today the White Paper is a threat to free immigration of Jews. The White Paper, if it is operative, will halt all Jewish immigration into Palestine after April 1, 1944.

No one in these days of war and suffering can be heedless to the tragic plight of millions of Jews who have been inhumanly and barbarously treated by the Nazis and their satellites. From two to three millions of them have already been murdered, but there are still several million who are homeless and destitute.

The least that civilized mankind can do is to find a haven for these innocent and harassed people. Palestine constitutes such a place not only by virtue of historic association but chiefly because of historic and international justice.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the League of Nations mandate that followed it were historic instruments designed to facilitate the settlement of millions of Jews in Palestine and the subsequent establishment therein of a national home for the Jewish people.

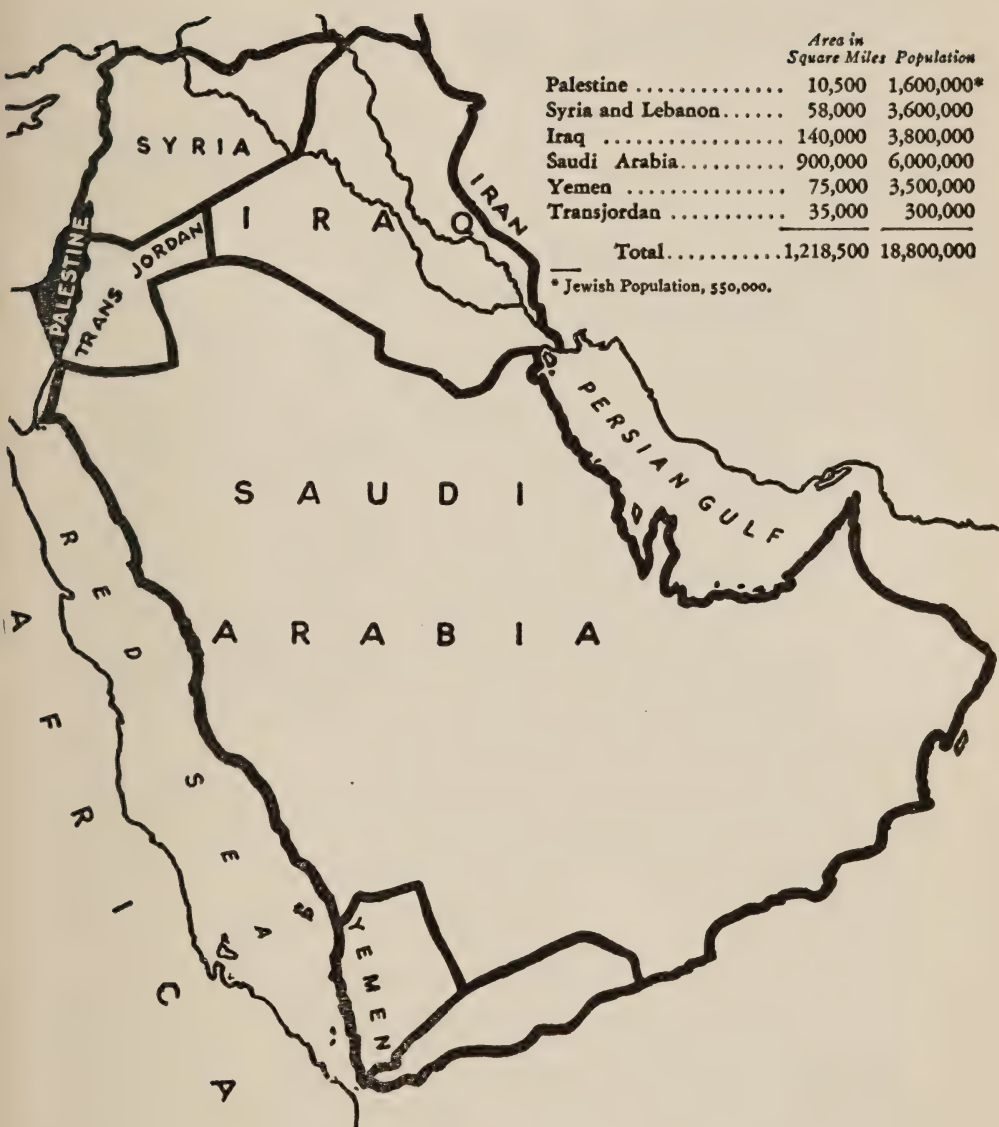
As governor of the state of Minnesota, I urge the government of the United States to use its good offices with Great Britain so that the White Paper is abrogated and the spirit and letter of the Balfour Declaration is implemented to the end that there shall be free entry of Jews into Palestine and unlimited opportunity for them to purchase land and colonize it.

To these may be added the names of the following Governors who have either expressed their sympathies for the Jewish National Movement or are members of the American Palestine Committee:

Governor Homer M. Adkins of Arkansas
Governor Thomas L. Bailey of Mississippi
Governor Thomas O. Blood of New Hampshire
Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio
Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois
Governor Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa
Governor Sam Huston Jones of Louisiana
Governor Herbert M. Maw of Utah
Governor John Moses of North Dakota
Governor Mathew M. Neely of West Virginia
Governor Herbert R. O'Conner of Maryland
Governor Henry F. Schricker of Indiana
Governor Sumner Sewall of Maine
Governor William H. Wellis of Vermont

Judges, Commissioners, and other State officials, a large number of Mayors and others connected with American municipalities, from the largest cities to the smallest towns, issued pro-Zionist statements or joined pro-Palestine groups. To all these officials should be added the many thousands of those who hold no Government position and who have shown a deep interest in the cause of Zionism. Suffice it to state that these proponents of the Jewish National Movement include the leaders in literature, education, the professions, industry, labor and in every other field of American endeavor.

PART III
DOCUMENTARY



	<i>Area in Square Miles Population</i>	
Palestine	10,500	1,600,000*
Syria and Lebanon.....	58,000	3,600,000
Iraq	140,000	3,800,000
Saudi Arabia.....	900,000	6,000,000
Yemen	75,000	3,500,000
Transjordan	35,000	300,000
Total.....	1,218,500	18,800,000

* Jewish Population, 550,000.

Palestine and the Arab Lands

17. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

UNIVERSALLY APPROVED

The Balfour Declaration was officially issued by the British Government. It was not, however, in fact or in intent, a unilateral statement of policy. The Declaration was confirmed and approved by (1) *all* the Allied and Associated Powers as a *group*, (2) by *all* the leading Allied Powers *individually* and (3) by some of the other nations.

Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Y. in
Arthur Balfour

A. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Allied and Associated Powers, as a group, through the League of Nations or its Council, confirmed the Balfour Declaration (1) at the San Remo Conference, on April 25, 1920, when the "A" Mandates* were allocated, (2) by Article 25 of the Treaty of Sevres entered into between the Allies and Turkey on August 10, 1920 and (3) in the Palestine Mandate, promulgated on July 24, 1922, which came into force on September 29, 1923.

B. THE GREAT POWERS

(a) *The United States*

The Government of the United States participated in the preparation of the Declaration.** It was approved by every American President since Woodrow Wilson.*** Its principles were incorporated in the Lodge-Fish Resolution adopted unanimously by the Senate and the House of Representatives, in 1922.****

(b) *France*

The French Government on June 14, 1917, sent the following communication to Mr. Sokolow:

"Sir,

"You were good enough to present the project to which you are devoting your efforts, which has for its object the development of Jewish colonization in Palestine. You consider that, circumstances permitting, and the independence of the Holy Places being safeguarded on the other hand, it would be a deed of justice and of reparation to assist, by the protection of the Allied Powers,

* Mandates over territories formerly a part of the Ottoman Empire.

** See page 32.

*** See Chapter 11.

**** See Chapter 5.

in the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that Land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago.

"The French Government, which entered this present war to defend a people wrongfully attacked, and which continues to struggle to assure the victory of right over wrong, can but feel sympathy for your cause, the triumph of which is bound up with that of the Allies.

"I am happy to give you herewith such assurance.

"Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

Jules Cambon."

On February 12, 1918, Foreign Minister Pichon sent a message to M. Tardieu, the French High Commissioner to the United States, as follows:

"Having seen M. Sokolow (representative of the Zionist Organizations) I authorized him to state that, as regards the question, our views were essentially the same as the views entertained by the British Government."

M. Tardieu authorized the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs to make that communication, as well as the following, public.

"Naval Radio, from the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

M. Sokolow was received today by M. Stephen Pichon. M. Pichon was happy to reaffirm that the understanding is complete between the French and the British Governments, concerning the question of the Jewish establishment in Palestine."

(c) *Italy*

Through its Ambassador at the Court of St. James, Marquis Imperiali, the Italian Government, on May 9, 1918, publicly signified its approval of the English and French declarations in a letter to M. Sokolow which stated:

"On the instructions of His Excellency, Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that with reference to your representations His

Majesty's Government are pleased to confirm the Declaration already made through their representatives in Washington, The Hague, and Salonica, to the effect that they will use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Centre, it being understood that this shall not prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

C. OTHER NATIONS

(a) *China*

The Zionist Organization of America received a cablegram from Mr. E. S. Kadoorie, President, and N. E. B. Ezra, Secretary of the Shanghai Zionist Association, informing it that on Dec. 14, 1918, the Chinese Government had officially endorsed the project for establishing a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. The text of the Chinese endorsement is as follows:

"The Chinese Government expresses its complete accord with Great Britain's proposals for the restoration of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country, and will co-operate with her Allies at the Peace Conference in the attaining of that object."

(b) *Greece*

On March 14, 1918, M. Politis, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated in the Chamber of Deputies:

"I have already had occasion in Salonika to express the very sincere sympathy of the Liberal party and of all Hellenes for the Jewish Nation, for twenty centuries the victim of misunderstandings and persecutions. I am glad to renew today the promise which I then gave that at the right moment the Liberal Government will put forth every effort to assist the national task of the Jews in full accord with the great Allies of Greece. Apart from the motives of sympathy which we have had for the Jewish race, a new bond is now added. Among other points in

common, the Jewish race and the Greek race have that of both belonging with those races which have ceased to be subjected to persecution. At this moment when Hellenism has been literally led to exhaustion by the barbarians of the East, I address with emotion to the Jewish race all my wishes for their establishment as a nation."

(c) *Holland*

Mr. Jacobus Kann, President of the Dutch Zionist Federation, was authorized by the Dutch Government to declare that it is sympathetic toward the Zionist aspirations.

(d) *Serbia*

The following letter, of December 27, 1917, from Milenko Vesnitch, head of the Serbian Mission to the United States, was sent to Capt. David Albala, a veteran of the Serbian Army, and forwarded by him to the Provisional Zionist Committee:

"Serbian War Mission to the United States.

"Dear Captain Albala:

"I wish you to express to your Jewish brothers the sympathy of our Government and of our people for the just endeavor of resuscitating their beloved country in Palestine which will enable them to take their place in the future Society of Nations according to their numerous capacities and to their unquestioned right. We are sure that this will not only be to their own interest, but at the same time to that of the whole of humanity.

"You know, dear Captain Albala, that there is no other nation in the world sympathizing with this plan more than Serbia. Do we not shed bitter tears on the rivers of Babylon in sight of our beloved land, lost only a short time ago? How should we not participate in your clamors and sorrows lasting ages and generations, especially when our countrymen of your origin and religion have fought for their Serbian fatherland as well as the best of our soldiers.

"It will be a sad thing for us to see any of our Jewish fellow-citizens leaving us to return to their promised land, but we shall console ourselves in the hope that they will stand as brothers and leave with us a good part of their hearts and that they will be the strongest tie between free Israel and Serbia.

"Believe me, dear Captain Albala,

"Very sincerely yours,

VESNITCH."

(e) *Siam*

The Zionist Organization of America received the text of a statement issued by the Siamese Government expressing its approval of the plan to establish in Palestine a National Homeland for the Jewish people. The statement was issued to Mr. E. S. Kadoorie, one of the leading bankers of China and President of the Shanghai Zionist Association, by H. R. H. Prince Devawongse Varopakar, Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs. It reads as follows:

"Foreign Office, Bangkok, August 22, 1918.

"Dear Sir:

"I have the honour to state that the Royal Siamese Government expresses its accord with the sympathetic position taken by its Allies with reference to the establishment of Palestine as a National Home for the Jewish people and, in co-operation with the Allied Powers, will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing will be done that may prejudice the civil or religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

"I am, very truly yours,

DEVAWONGSE."

D. THE ARABS

(a) *Emir Feisal, son of King Hussein of Hejaz, Head of the Arab Delegation to the Peace Conference*

Feisal's letter to Prof. Frankfurter

"Delegation Hedjazienne

"Paris, March 3, 1919

"Dear Mr. Frankfurter,

"I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in Arabia and Europe.

"We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppression at the hands of powers stronger

than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together.

"We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

"With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann, we have had, and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revived NEAR EAST, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

"People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for cooperation of the Arabs and Zionists have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry, and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

"I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle, but on matters of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact of neighbouring peoples, and as are easily adjusted by mutual good-will. Indeed, nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

"I look forward, and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilised people of the world.

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

FEISAL."

Feisal and Dr. Weizmann

When the Emir Feisal came to London and Paris [December 1918] he was persuaded not merely to accept but to welcome

the policy of the Balfour Declaration. At his camp east of the Jordan in the previous summer he had met Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who had done great service by his chemical discoveries to the Allied cause in the War and had taken a leading part in the Zionist movement and the discussion of the Balfour Declaration. He had been able to convince the Emir of the benefits which the Jewish National Home would bring to Palestine as a whole.*

*Agreement Between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann,
January 3, 1919*

His Royal Highness the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organisation,

mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realising that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I

The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories.

Article II

Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

Article III

In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd of November 1917.

Article IV

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as

*From the *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, p. 26.

quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

Article V

No regulation nor law shall be made prohibiting or interfering in any way with the free exercise of religion; and further the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall ever be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.

Article VI

The Mohammedan Holy Places shall be under Mohammedan control.

Article VII

The Zionist Organisation proposes to send to Palestine a Commission of experts to make a survey of the economic possibilities of the country, and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organisation will place the aforementioned Commission at the disposal of the Arab State for the purpose of a survey of the economic possibilities of the Arab State and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organisation will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

Article VIII

The parties hereto agree to act in complete accord and harmony on all matters embraced herein before the Peace Congress.

Article IX

Any matters of dispute which may arise between the contracting parties shall be referred to the British Government for arbitration.

Given under our hand at London, England, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

CHAIM WEIZMANN.

FEISAL IBN-HUSSEIN.

Reservation by the Emir Feisal

If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of

January 4th addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement.

FEISAL, IBN-HUSSEIN.

(Copy of note in Colonel Lawrence's handwriting—translation of Arabic note at end of Treaty.)

Feisal's Memorandum to Peace Conference

In a memorandum circulated to the delegates of the Peace Conference under date January 1st, 1919, the Emir Feisal set forth the Arab claims. After describing the national aspirations of the Arabs and claiming independence for the Arabic-speaking countries generally, the memorandum proceeds as follows:

"In Palestine the enormous majority of the people are Arabs. The Jews are very close to the Arabs in blood, and there is no conflict of character between the two races. Nevertheless, the Arabs cannot assume the responsibility of holding level the scales in the clash of races and religions that have in this one province, so often involved the world in difficulties. They would wish for the effective superposition of a great trustee, so long as a representative local administration commended itself by actively promoting the material prosperity of the country."*

Feisal's Statement Before the Council of Five

On February 6th, 1919, the Arab case was laid before the Council of Five by the Emir Feisal as the head of a Hedjaz Delegation comprising, in addition to himself, Colonel Lawrence, Rustum Haidar, Nuri Said and Auni Bey Abdul Hadi.** In the official note of the meeting the Emir is reported to have referred to Palestine as follows:

"Palestine, for its universal character he left on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties interested. With this exception, he asked for the independence of the Arabic areas enumerated in his memorandum."***

Feisal's Interview with Reuter's

The Emir Feisal, in a statement made to a representative of Reuter's Agency, published in The Times of December 12, 1918.

*David Hunter Miller: *My Diary of the Peace Conference*. Vol. IV, pp. 297-299.

**General Nuri Said, Prime Minister of Iraq, and Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, a Palestine Arab leader, were both members of the Arab Delegations to the London Conferences.

***David Hunter Miller: *My Diary of the Peace Conference*. Vol. IV, p. 226.

said, on the subject of Zionist aspirations in regard to Palestine:

"The two main branches of the Semitic family, Arabs and Jews, understand one another, and I hope that as a result of interchange of ideas at the Peace Conference, which will be guided by ideals of self-determination and nationality, each nation will make definite progress towards the realisation of its aspirations. Arabs are not jealous of Zionist Jews, and intend to give them fair play, and the Zionist Jews have assured the Nationalist Arabs of their intention to see that they too have fair play in their respective areas. Turkish intrigue in Palestine has raised jealousy between the Jewish colonists and the local peasants, but the mutual understanding of the aims of Arabs and Jews will at once clear away the last trace of this former bitterness, which indeed had already practically disappeared even before the war by the work of the Arab Secret Revolutionary Committee, which in Syria and elsewhere laid the foundation of the Arab military successes of the past two years."

(b) *King Hussein, of Hejaz*

British Government's Message to King Hussein

"Through Sir Mark Sykes and Colonel Lawrence we informed the Arab leaders, King Hussein and his son, Feisal, of our proposals. We could not get in touch with the Palestinian Arabs as they were fighting against us."

In January 1916 the British Government's policy in regard to Palestinian Holy Places and Zionist colonisation was officially communicated in the following message to Hussein:

"That so far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subjected to another, but in view of the fact:

"(a) That there are in Palestine, Shrines, Wakfs, and Holy Places, sacred in some cases to Moslems alone, to Jews alone, to Christians alone, and in others to two or all three, and inasmuch as these places are of interest to vast masses of people outside Palestine and Arabia, there must be a special regime to deal with these places approved by the world.

"(b) That as regards the Mosque of Omar, it shall be considered as a Moslem concern alone, and shall not be subjected directly or indirectly to any non-Moslem authority.

"That since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and further, as His Majesty's Government view with favour the realisation of this aspiration, His Majesty's Government are determined that in so far as is com-

patible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realisation of this ideal."

"The Arab leaders did not offer any objections to the declaration so long as the rights of the Arabs in Palestine were respected. Pledges were given to the non-Jewish population of Palestine who constituted the great majority of its inhabitants, as well as to the Jews. These were the results of conversations which we had with such Arab leaders as we could get in touch with. There was a two-fold undertaking given to them, that the establishment of a Jewish National Home would not in any way, firstly, affect the civil or religious rights of the general population of Palestine; secondly, would not diminish the general prosperity of that population. Those were the only pledges we gave to the Arabs."*

King Hussein on Arab-Jewish Cooperation

Mr. George Antonius** refers to an article from "Al Qibla" (Mecca) No. 183, of March 23, 1918, which he says appears to have been written by Hussein himself, "calling upon the Arab population in Palestine to bear in mind that their sacred books and their traditions enjoined upon them the duties of hospitality and tolerance, and exhorting them to welcome the Jews as brethren and co-operate with them for the common welfare."

It should be added that this article also refers to the remarkable achievements of the Jewish people in Palestine as worthy of imitation by the Arabs and states that "the resources of the country are still virgin soil," and will be developed by the labour and capital of the Jewish immigrants. "One of the most amazing things till recent times," the article goes on, "was the Palestinian used to leave his country, wandering over the high seas in every direction. His native soil could not retain him, though his ancestors had lived on it for over a thousand years. And, at the same time, we saw the Jews from foreign countries streaming to Palestine from Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain, America. The cause of causes could not escape those who had the gift of a deeper insight; they knew that that country was for its original sons (abna'ih-i-asliyin), for all their differences, a sacred and beloved homeland. Experience has proved their capacity to succeed in their energies and their labours. The return of

**The Truth About the Peace Treaties* by David Lloyd George (Gollancz, 1939, Vol. II, pp. 1140-1142.)

** *The Arab Awakening* (p. 269).

these exiles (jaliya) to their homeland will prove materially and spiritually an experimental school for their brethren [i. e., the Arabs] who are with them in the fields, factories, trades, and in all things connected with toil and labour."

(c) *The Syrian Delegation to the Peace Conference*

On Thursday, February 13, 1919, at 3 p.m. there was a meeting of the Supreme Council, at which Mr. A. J. Balfour and Viscount Milner represented the British Empire; President Wilson and Mr. R. Lansing the United State of America; Monsieur Clemenceau and Monsieur Pichon, France; Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino, Italy; and Mr. Matsui, Japan. There were also present Major the Hon. W. Ormsby Gore and Mr. A. J. Toynbee.

This meeting received the members of the Syrian Commission, consisting of the following:

M. Chekri Ganem.....	The Chief Representative of the Central Syrian Committee.
M. Anis Schegade.....	Orthodox Greek.
Jamil Mardam Bey.....	Moslem.
Dr. Georges Samne.....	Greek Melchite.
Nejil Bey Maikarzel....	Maronite.
Dr. Tewfik Farhi.....	Hebrew.

M. Chekri Ganem read a long statement occupying 16 pages of the Diary, in which he pleaded for the constitution of Syria, within its natural frontiers, into a democratic State distinct from the other Arabic-speaking countries. He argued against the moral grounds (describing the Syrians as an argued against the annexation of Syria to Arabia on political, educated people and the population of the Hejaz as a "race less advanced"), and repudiated the right of Emir Feisal to exercise any authority in Syria.

In the concluding part of his statement M. Chekri Ganem said: "May we say one word as regards Palestine—although the subject is said to be a thorny one?

"Palestine is incontestably the Southern portion of our country. The Zionists claim it. We have suffered too much from sufferings resembling theirs, not to throw open wide to them the doors of Palestine. All those among them who are oppressed in certain retrograde countries are welcome. Let them settle in Palestine, but in an autonomous Palestine, connected with Syria by the sole bond of federation. Will not a Palestine enjoying wide internal autonomy be for them a sufficient guarantee?

"If they form the majority there, they will be the rulers. If they are in the minority, they will be represented in the Government in proportion to their numbers.

"Is it necessary, in order to establish them, to dismember Syria, to take from it its means of access and its historic safeguard against any invasion (which always took that route), and to constitute a State in the midst of a country which, as a consequence, would be hostile to them." (David Hunter Miller: *My Diary of the Peace Conference*, Vol. XIV, Minutes of the Supreme Council. pp. 389-415.)*

(d) *T. E. Lawrence*

Draft Preface, dated 18th November, 1922, to an abridgment (not published) of the Oxford Text of
Seven Pillars of Wisdom.

The book dates itself to 1919, when powerful elements in the British Government were seeking to evade their war-time obligations to the Arabs. That stage ended in March 1921, when Mr. Winston Churchill took charge of the Middle East. He set honesty before expediency in order to fulfil our promises in the letter and in the spirit. He executed the whole McMahon undertaking (called a treaty by some who have not seen it) for Palestine, for Trans-Jordania, and for Arabia. In Mesopotamia he went far beyond its provisions, giving to the Arabs more, and reserving for us much less, than Sir Henry McMahon had thought fit.

In the affairs of French Syria he was not able to interfere, and the Sherif of Mecca can fairly complain that the settlement there is not yet in accordance with the Anglo-French agreement of 1916, or with our word to him. I say "not yet" advisedly, since the McMahon proposals (being based on racial and economic reasons) were likely to have imposed themselves eventually, even if Mr. Churchill's progressive British military withdrawal from Mesopotamia had not come to prejudice the future of all the Arab areas.

I do not wish to publish secret documents, nor to make long explanations: but must put on record my conviction that England is out of the Arab affair with clean hands. Some Arab advocates (the most vociferous joined our ranks after the Armistice) have rejected my judgment on this point. Like a tedious Pensioner I showed them my wounds (over sixty I have, each scar

* David Lloyd George: *Truth About the Peace Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 1057.

evidence of a pain incurred in Arab service) as proof I had worked sincerely on their side. They found me out-of-date: and I was happy to withdraw from a political milieu which had never been congenial. (The Letters of T. E. Lawrence. Edited by D. Garnett. Cape, 1938, p. 345.)

It is my deliberate opinion that the Winston Churchill settlement of 1921-1922 (in which I shared) honourably fulfils the whole of the promises we made to the Arabs, insofar as the so-called British spheres are concerned. (From a letter to Professor William Yale, dated October 22, 1929. The Letters of T. E. Lawrence, p. 671.)

Mr. Winston Churchill was entrusted by our harassed Cabinet with the settlement of the Middle East; and in a few weeks, at his conference in Cairo, he made straight all the tangle, finding solutions, fulfilling (I think) our promises in letter and spirit (where humanly possible) without sacrificing any interest of our Empire or any interest of the people concerned. So we were quit of the war-time Eastern adventure, with clean hands, but three years too late to earn the gratitude which peoples, if not states, can pay. (Footnote to p. 276 of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1935).)

E. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE ARAB LANDS

Statements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government during the year 1918 in regard to the future status of certain parts of the Ottoman Empire.

No. 1.

The Hogarth Message.

(a)

The following is the text of a message which Commander D. G. Hogarth, C.M.G., R.N.V.R., of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, was instructed on the 4th January, 1918, to deliver to King Hussein of the Hejaz at Jedda:—

“(1) The *Entente* Powers are determined that the Arab race shall be given full opportunity of once again forming a nation in the world. This can only be achieved by the Arabs themselves uniting, and Great Britain and her Allies will pursue a policy with this ultimate unity in view.

“(2) So far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subject to another, but—

- (a) In view of the fact that there are in Palestine shrines. Wakfs and Holy places, sacred in some cases to Moslems alone, to Jews alone, to Christians alone, and in others to two or all three, and inasmuch as these places are of interest to vast masses of people outside Palestine and Arabia, there must be a special régime to deal with these places approved of by the world.
- (b) As regards the Mosque of Omar, it shall be considered as a Moslem concern alone, and shall not be subjected directly or indirectly to any non-Moslem authority.

“(3) Since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and, further, as His Majesty’s Government view with favour the realisation of this aspiration, His Majesty’s Government are determined that in so far as is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realisation of this ideal.

“In this connexion the friendship of world Jewry to the Arab cause is equivalent to support in all States where Jews have a political influence. The leaders of the movement are determined to bring about the success of Zionism by friendship and co-operation with the Arabs, and such an offer is not one to be lightly thrown aside.”

(b)

The following is the record of the conversation which Commander Hogarth had with King Hussein about the message which he had delivered:—

“I read Foreign Office Formula* No. 1 (Arab Nation and need of Unity). King assented cordially saying it expressed the basis of all our Agreement. I said that owing to long lapse of time Allies thought it well to repeat it now.

“King then said that if any minor modifications of our Agreement with him were imposed on us by war necessities he would frankly recognise such necessity, but asked he should be as frankly informed of modification and necessity.

“I then introduced Formula No. 2 (International Administration in Palestine) by reminding King of proviso in original Agreements safeguarding special interests of our Allies and especially France. He interpolated humorous reference to Fashoda, implying doubt of real and permanent community of interest between France and us. I let this pass with gesture of

**I.e.*, paragraphs No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 in the message.

dissent and said France had come to see eye to eye with us in Arab matters, favoured as much as we Feisal's plans, took the view so strongly held in America that people should have the government they desire, and wished only to protect and assist the development of independent Government in Syria.

"I then read No. 2. King assented, saying that brain which could formulate this could devise form of administration to safeguard all interests. He lauded Great Britain's action in case Omar Mosque, comparing Caliph Omar's abstention from Christian shrines in Jerusalem. If we could draw up statement similar to No. 2 with omission of reference to political administrative control, he would publish it to all Islam.

"I passed to Formula No. 3 (Jewish Settlement in Palestine) prefacing it by statement of growth of Zionism during war and great value of Jew interest and alliance. King seemed quite prepared for formula and agreed enthusiastically, saying he welcomed Jews to all Arab lands. I explained that his Majesty's Government's resolve safeguarded existing local population."

(c)

The following are some notes by Commander Hogarth bearing on his conversation, which he addressed to His Majesty's High Commissioner in Cairo:—

"Arab unity and the King's actual and possible relation to it.—

It is obvious that the King regards Arab Unity as synonymous with his own Kingship, and (for reasons given above) as a vain phrase unless so regarded. He treats our proclamations and exhortations about it as good intentions but no more, and has no faith in their effect until we support the embodiment of the idea in one single personality—himself.

*International control of the Palestine Holy Places.—*The King left me in little doubt that he secretly regards this as a point to be reconsidered after the Peace, in spite of my assurance that it was to be a definitive arrangement. He compared ourselves and himself (in his habitual homely way) to two persons about to inhabit one house, but not agreed which should take which floor or rooms! Often in the course of our conversations he spoke with a smile of accounts which he would settle after the war, pending which settlement he would press nothing. I doubt if he has any fixed plan or foresees his way; but I have no doubt that in his own mind he abates none of his original demands on behalf of the Arabs, or in the fullness of time, of himself.

*"Settlement of Jews in Palestine and common cause among Arabs, Jews and Armenians in Syria.—*The position in regard to this

matter is, I think, very much the same as in the preceding case.

The King would not accept an independent Jew State in Palestine, nor was I instructed to warn him that such a State was contemplated by Great Britain. He probably knows little or nothing of the actual or possible economy of Palestine and his ready assent to Jewish settlement there is not worth very much. But I think he appreciates the financial advantage of Arab co-operation with the Jews."

"January 15, 1918."

No. 2

The Declaration to the Seven.

The following is the text of a message which His Majesty's High Commissioner in Cairo was instructed to convey to seven Arab leaders resident in Cairo who had presented a memorial to His Majesty's Government. The message was delivered to representatives of the seven memorialists on about the 16th June, 1918, by Commander D. G. Hogarth, C.M.G., R.N.V.R., and Mr. O. Walrond, C.M.G.:—

"His Majesty's Government have considered the memorial of the seven with the greatest care. His Majesty's Government fully appreciate the reasons why the memorialists desire to retain their anonymity, and the fact that the memorial is anonymous has not in any way detracted from the importance which His Majesty's Government attribute to the document.

"The areas mentioned in the memorandum fall into four categories:—

- "1. Areas in Arabia which were free and independent before the outbreak of war;
- "2. Areas emancipated from Turkish control by the action of the Arabs themselves during the present war;
- "3. Areas formerly under Ottoman dominion, occupied by the Allied forces during the present war;
- "4. Areas still under Turkish control.

"In regard to the first two categories, His Majesty's Government recognize the complete and sovereign independence of the Arab inhabiting these areas and support them in their struggle for freedom.

"In regard to the areas occupied by Allied forces, His Majesty's Government draw the attention of the memorialists to the texts of the proclamations issued respectively by the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief on the taking of Bagdad and Jerusalem. These proclamations embody the policy of His

Majesty's Government towards the inhabitants of those regions. It is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the future government of these regions should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed, and this policy has and will continue to have the support of His Majesty's Government.

"In regard to the areas mentioned in the fourth category, it is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the oppressed peoples of these areas should obtain their freedom and independence, and towards the achievement of this object His Majesty's Government continue to labour.

"His Majesty's Government are fully aware of, and take into consideration, the difficulties and dangers which beset those who work for the regeneration of the populations of the areas specified.

"In spite, however, of these obstacles His Majesty's Government trust and believe that they can and will be overcome, and wish to give all support to those who desire to overcome them. They are prepared to consider any scheme of co-operation which is compatible with existing military operations and consistent with the political principles of His Majesty's Government and the Allies."

No. 3

Certain Assurances given by General Sir Edmund Allenby.

The following are the terms in which General Sir Edmund (afterwards Viscount) Allenby reported to His Majesty's Government on the 17th October, 1918, a communication which he made to the Emir Faisal, on the occasion of the evacuation of Beirut by the Sherifian forces, regarding occupied enemy territory:—

"I gave the Emir Faisal an official assurance that whatever measures might be taken during the period of military administration they were purely provisional and could not be allowed to prejudice the final settlement by the peace conference, at which no doubt the Arabs would have a representative. I added that the instructions to the military governors would preclude their mixing in political affairs, and that I should remove them if I found any of them contravening these orders. I reminded the Emir Faisal that the Allies were in honour bound to endeavour to reach a settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned, and urged him to place his trust whole-heartedly in their good faith."

18. ARAB CLAIMS AND THE MACMAHON CORRESPONDENCE

Purported claims of the Arabs to Palestine are based upon alleged promises made by Sir Henry MacMahon British High Commissioner at Cairo, to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca (later the King of Hejaz).

There was a series of ten letters extending over a period between July 1915 and March 1916. The primary claim of the Arabs is centered upon the contents of the fourth letter, written by Sir Henry, dated October 24, 1915. It contains the delimitations of the promise made to the Arabs. It reads:

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM SIR H. McMAHON,
HIS MAJESTY'S HIGH COMMISSIONER AT CAIRO,
TO THE SHERIFF OF MECCA.

OCTOBER 24, 1915

I have received your letter of the 29th Shawal, 1333, with much pleasure and your expressions of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction.

I regret that you should have received from my last letter the impression that I regarded the question of the limits and boundaries with coldness and hesitation; such was not the case, but it appeared to me that the time had not yet come when that question could be discussed in a conclusive manner.

I have realised, however, from your last letter that you regard this question as one of vital and urgent importance. I have, therefore, lost no time in informing the Government of Great Britain of the contents of your letter, and it is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement, which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction:—

*The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions

* Former reading: "The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries. With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept these limits and boundaries, and, in regard to those portions of the territories therein in which Great Britain

of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded.

With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits.

As for those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:—

- (1) Subject the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca.
- (2) Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognise their inviolability.
- (3) When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.
- (4) On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British.
- (5) With regard to the vilayets of Bagdad and Basra, the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression, to promote the welfare of the local populations and to safeguard our mutual economic interests.

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, for the immediate results of which will be

is free to accept without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered, in the name of the Government of Great Britain, to give you the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:

"Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif of Mecca."

the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples from the Turkish yoke, which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

I have confined myself in this letter to the more vital and important questions, and if there are any other matters dealt with in your letters which I have omitted to mention, we may discuss them at some convenient date in the future.

It was with very great relief and satisfaction that I heard of the safe arrival of the Holy Carpet and the accompanying offerings which, thanks to the clearness of your directions and the excellence of your arrangements, were landed without trouble or mishap in spite of the dangers and difficulties occasioned by the present sad war. May God soon bring a lasting peace and freedom to all peoples!

I am sending this letter by the hand of your trusted and excellent messenger, Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Arif Ibn Uraifan, and he will inform you of the various matters of interest, but of less importance, which I have not mentioned in this letter.

(Compliments.)

(Signed) A. Henry McMahon.

That Palestine was definitely *not included* in these promises is shown in the following letters and statements:

STATEMENTS

By SIR HENRY McMAHON*

Sir: Many references have been made in the Palestine Royal Commission Report and in the course of the recent debates in both Houses of Parliament to the "McMahon Pledge," especially to that portion of the pledge which concerns Palestine and of which one interpretation has been claimed by the Jews and another by the Arabs.

It has been suggested to me that continued silence on the part of the giver of that pledge may itself be misunderstood.

I feel, therefore, called upon to make some statement on the subject, but I will confine myself in doing so to the point now at issue—i. e., whether that portion of Syria now known as Palestine was or was not intended to be included in the territories in which the independence of the Arabs was guaranteed in my pledge.

I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to

*A letter to The Times of London, July 22, 1937.

King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised.

I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein.

Yours faithfully,

A. Henry McMahon.

5, Wilton Place S.W. 1.

Sir Gilbert Clayton, then Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, in a Note to the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, April 12, 1923:

I was in daily touch with Sir Henry McMahon throughout the negotiations with King Hussein, and made the preliminary drafts of all the letters. I can bear out the statement that it was never the intention that Palestine should be included in the general pledge given to the Sherif. The introductory words of Sir Henry's letter were thought at the time, perhaps erroneously, clearly to cover the point. It was, I think, obvious that the peculiar interests involved in Palestine precluded any definite pledges in regard to its future at so early a stage.*

By COLONEL C. E. VICKERY**

Sir: Since it has been decided to publish the letter addressed by Sir Henry McMahon to Sherif Hussein in 1915 it may be of interest to record my impressions of the interview that I had with the late King Hussein in 1920 under instructions from Cairo to read personally the original copy of this letter held by the King. My information was that no copy existed at Cairo, but as to that I am not in a position to say whether this was so or not.

It happened that the King had arrived at Jeddah the day before I received my instructions, and I asked for my audience, which was at once accorded. It was not my custom to take an interpreter with me for these audiences and I was received by the King alone on the top story of his Jeddah house. For an hour or more I listened to the bitter complaints of King Hussein of the way he had been treated in defiance of pledged and written word; again and again I brought the discussion round to the 1915 letter and tried to provoke the Sherif into showing it to me. It must have been after midday when I had been with him over three hours, for on looking down from my seat in the bow

* Quoted by Lord Samuel, House of Lords, July 20, 1937.

** A letter to The Times of London, February 21, 1939.

window there was no shadow in the street and the sun was suspended like some sword over the city, that the King suddenly clapped his hands and bade the slave who came in to bring his portfolio. This was done and unlocked by Hussein himself; he fumbled through some papers and finally threw one at me. "Read yourself, O light of my eye," he said. I read the letter through very slowly; it was not written in very scholarly Arabic and had no English translation in the margin, and it was quite evident that Palestine was not included in the proposals to the King.

I can say most definitely that the whole of the King's demands were centered round Syria and only round Syria. Time after time he referred to that vineyard, to the exclusion of any other claim or interest. He stated most emphatically that he did not concern himself at all with Palestine and had no desire to have suzerainty over it for himself or his successors. He did, however, frequently and vehemently, point out to me the following excerpt of the letter, and as it is to be published, the accuracy of my memory can be established. "Bil niabah el hakim el britannieh el azimah ana aqbil bi kull motalibkum." "On behalf of the great British Government I accept all your demands." This may have been worded unfortunately, for there was no doubt in my mind that it referred to the requests for munitions of war which he demanded with great frequency. Nothing would persuade the Sherif Hussein that it did not refer to everything that he had asked for in the acquisition of territories to form the Arabian Empire which inspired every waking moment of his life.

So many are the historians of the Arab revolt and so many are the stories of events which one person had from another who knew a third who was present, that I venture to send you this account of an interview at which there were only two people present and one had long since passed to that paradise that the great prophet promised to the faithful.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. E. Vickery.

Whorlton Grange, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.
February 21, 1939.

By LORD ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR*

Arab Territories and Palestine

"So far as the Arabs are concerned . . . I hope they will remem-

*From a speech delivered July 12, 1920, at Albert Hall, London.

ber that it is we who have established an independent Arab sovereignty of the Hejaz. I hope they will remember it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch—for it is no more than that geographically, whatever it may be historically—that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it.”

PRONOUNCEMENTS BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Correspondence with King Hussein

No formal Treaty was concluded between His Majesty's Government and the King of the Hejaz in 1915. His Majesty's Government, however, gave certain undertakings to the Arabs through King Hussein to support their efforts to gain their independence subject to reservations as to British and French interests and as to boundaries. These undertakings were embodied in a long and inconclusive correspondence; and on certain points no specific agreement was reached.*

The McMahon Promise

It is not the case, as has been represented by the Arab Delegation, that during the War His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that an independent national government should be at once established in Palestine. This representation mainly rests upon a letter dated the 24th October, 1915, from Sir Henry McMahon, then His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, to the Sherif of Mecca, now King Hussein of the Kingdom of the Hejaz. That letter is quoted as conveying the promise to the Sherif of Mecca to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories proposed by him. But this promise was given subject to a reservation made in the same letter, which excluded from its scope, among other territories, the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus. This reservation has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering the Vilayet of Beirut and the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine West of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge.**

* Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Harmsworth); House of Commons, October 24, 1921.

** Statement of British Policy in Palestine, June 3, 1922 (Cmd. 1700, 1922, p. 20).

Palestine Excluded from Arab Pledge

No pledges were made to the Palestine Arabs in 1915. An undertaking was given to the Sherif of Mecca that His Majesty's Government would recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within certain territorial limits, which specifically excluded the districts of Mersina and Alexandretta, and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. It was also stipulated that the undertaking applied only to those portions of the territories concerned in which Great Britain was free to act without detriment to the interests of her Allies. His Majesty's Government have always regarded, and continue to regard Palestine as excluded by these provisos from the scope of their undertaking. This is clear from the fact, to which the hon. Members refers, that in the following year they concluded an agreement with the French and Russian Governments under which Palestine was to receive special treatment.

So far as I am aware, the first suggestion that Palestine was included in the area within which His Majesty's Government promised to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs was made by the Emir Feisal, now King of Iraq, at a conversation held in the Foreign Office on 20th January, 1921, more than five years after the conclusion of the correspondence on which the claim was based. On that occasion the point of view of His Majesty's Government was explained to the Emir, who expressed himself as prepared to accept the statement that it had been the intention of His Majesty's Government to exclude Palestine.

When I assumed responsibility for Middle Eastern Affairs I went carefully into the correspondence referred to, and my reading of it is the same as that of the Foreign Office, as was recently stated in the Declaration of British Policy in Palestine, which has been published and laid before the House. I am quite satisfied that it was as fully the intention of His Majesty's Government to exclude Palestine from the area of Arab independence as it was to exclude the more northern coastal tracts of Syria.*

McMahon Excluded Palestine

I have not been content merely to accept those statements as they appeared, but since I have been at the Colonial Office I have, to the best of my ability and power, most carefully in-

*Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Winston Churchill), House of Commons, July 11, 1922.

vestigated the subject for myself, and I certainly see no reason, on broad grounds, to dissent from the interpretation which the late Government has placed upon the promises. Whether they were expressed in the best terms or not, it is perhaps not for me to say, but undoubtedly there never was any intention, when the pledge was given, to recognise the independence of the Arabs so as to include Palestine. I think that is perfectly clear, and in my own mind I am certain of it. Although the terms may not have been expressed in the clearest possible language, I think it was the intention of both Sir H. McMahon and the Government at the time, when those pledges were given, that Palestine should not be included.*

*Balfour Declaration issued with McMahon Correspondence
in mind*

I served in 1916 in the Arab Bureau in Cairo on Sir Henry McMahon's staff, and I wish myself to testify to the fact that it never was in the mind of anyone on that staff that Palestine west of the Jordan was in the area within which the British Government then undertook to further the cause of Arab independence. And, after all, the whole sequel proves the case. Immediately after the Arab revolt and in successive months, the then British Government, before the right hon. gentleman the Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George) became Prime Minister, was advised in these matters largely by the late Sir Mark Sykes, and immediately after the McMahon correspondence and the outbreak of the revolt in the Hedjaz he was instructed by the then Government to get into touch with the French and other Allied Governments in regard to the future of that part of the world. Negotiations were long, with the results that England and France, France then having claimed the whole of Palestine, acceded to an arrangement which is set out very fully on page 21 of the Report [of the Royal Commission for Palestine].

When the preliminary negotiations took place leading up to the Balfour Declaration—and it was at least a year after the first adumbration of a desire on the part of the Allied Governments to make some approach to the Jewish people had first been thought of—I remember myself serving in the Arab Bureau helping to edit a thing called the "Arab Bulletin" in the autumn of 1916, putting into that "Bulletin" information regarding Jewish colonies and Jewish aspirations in Palestine; and all through the early days of 1917 His Majesty's Government and the other

* Secretary of State for the Colonies (Duke of Devonshire), House of Lords, March 1, 1923.

Governments were becoming increasingly aware of this factor in the Near Eastern problem, and the Balfour Declaration, which was not issued until November, 1917, was the result of prolonged weeks of controversy—I say that advisedly—in this country, because some people put forward views vigorously opposed to it, after negotiations with France and Italy, and after, as the Commission bring out for the first time, President Wilson was consulted as to its precise terms. It was a most deliberate act. It was not only Sir Mark Sykes but others brought to the attention of the Government the fact that undertakings of a general character had been given to the Arabs, and the McMahon correspondence was fully in the mind of His Majesty's and the Allied Governments when the Balfour Declaration was made. I say it was opposed, but let me make it clear that the Cabinet as a whole were absolutely determined, and the idea that this was a particular nostrum of Lord Balfour or any other individual is quite out of the question.

This further fact should be known, that the draft as originally put up by Lord Balfour was not the final draft approved by the War Cabinet. The particular draft assented to by the War Cabinet, and afterwards by the Allied Governments, and by the United States, expressed in the Resolution of Congress and finally embodied in the Mandate, happens to have been drafted by Lord Milner. The actual final draft had to be issued in the name of the Foreign Secretary, but the actual draftsman was Lord Milner.

I want it clearly and finally understood that His Majesty's Government, neither then nor now, can or will admit that Palestine west of the Jordan was included in the pledge given to the Sherif, and that they have always in mind that special considerations must obtain in regard to the future government of the Holy Land. The unique character of Palestine was recognised by the Arab Delegates to the Peace Conference. It is recognised all over the world.*

*Arab Claims for Palestine Unjust***

In the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, in October, 1915, undertook to recognise and support Arab independence. The validity of this claim, based on the terms of

* Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Ormsby-Gore), House of Commons, July 21, 1937.

** From the "Statement of Policy" of the British White Paper of 1939, Parag. 7, Part I (The Constitution).

the correspondence which passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sharif of Mecca, was thoroughly and carefully investigated by British and Arab representatives during the recent conferences in London. Their Report, which has been published, states that both the Arab and the British representatives endeavoured to understand the point of view of the other party but that they were unable to reach agreement upon an interpretation of the correspondence. There is no need to summarise here the arguments presented by each side. His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the Report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State.

19. JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE

Official Statements and Reports of the Progress and Achievements Made by the Jews in Palestine as a Result of the Implementation of the Balfour Declaration:

*By the First High Commissioner, in 1921**

"It is obvious to every passing traveller, and well known to every European resident, that the country was before the War and is now undeveloped and underpopulated. The methods of agriculture are for the most part primitive; the area of land now cultivated could yield a far greater product. There are in addition large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The Jordan and Yarmuk offer an abundance of water power, but it is unused. The markets of Palestine and the neighbouring countries are supplied almost wholly from Europe. The sea-borne commerce, such as it is, is loaded and discharged in the open roadsteads of Haifa and Jaffa; there are no harbours. The country is underpopulated because of this lack of development."

*By the Treasurer of the Government of Palestine,
W. J. Johnson, in 1936***

"During the last fifteen years the population is estimated to have nearly doubled; the urban areas of Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, in particular, have developed beyond the most optimistic expectations, and there is little, if any, unemployment; most of the cultivable land is tilled although in recent years drought and low prices have largely counteracted this; stocks of cattle and horses have been replenished and increased, although the supply falls short of the very much increased demand; millions of trees have been planted by the Government Forest Service and privately; new orange groves have been established which place Palestine among the first five citrus producing countries of the world, and commerce and industry have been developed so as to enable them to support more than one-third of the present total population of the country."

* Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine, July 1st, 1920, to June 30th, 1921.

** *Palestine Post*, Commercial Section, May 26th, 1936, p. 10.

*By the Palestine Government***Progress from 1922 to 1937*

The total population of the country in 1922 was 752,048. In 1937 it grew to 1,383,305, an increase of over 80 percent. The agricultural production of winter crops in 1922 amounted to 143,996 tons, and in 1937 it went up to 216,237 tons; the summer crops of 1922 amounted to 97,811 tons, and in 1937 it reached the 420,749-ton mark, an increase of about 340 percent. In 1928 the country produced 341,836 kilos of tobacco, while in 1936 it rose to 1,236,749 kilos. The export trade of 1923 amounted to L. P. 1,172,548, while in 1937 it rose to L. P. 5,813,535; thus the export trade of 1937 was almost five times that of 1923. The import trade of 1923 amounted to L. P. 4,948,907, while that of 1937 amounted to L. P. 15,905,66; thus the imports of 1937 were only 3.3 times that of 1923. The Palestine currency in circulation in 1930 was L. P. 1,672,664, while in 1937 it rose to L. P. 4,829,134. In 1922 Palestine had 2,255 teachers and 56,162 pupils, while in 1937 there were 6,126 teachers and 145,420 pupils, an increase of 170 percent in both teachers and pupils. In 1924 only 1,167 motor vehicles were registered, while in 1937 there were registered 15,641, an increase of 1,240 percent.

*By Malcolm MacDonald, British Secretary of State
for the Colonies***

On the Growth of Arab Population

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe the Arab population of Palestine would still have been round about the figure 600,000 at which it had been stable under Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grown strong. It is not only the Jews who have benefited from the Balfour Declaration. They can deny it as much as they like, but materially the Arabs in Palestine have gained very greatly from the Balfour Declaration."

* Palestine Government Blue Book, 1937.

** Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, November 24, 1938.

*From the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission
July 1937:*

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON ARAB PROGRESS

Excerpts from Palestine Royal Commission Report (Cond. 5479)
July 1937 (Pp. 125-129) Concerning Beneficial Effects of the
Jewish National Home on Arab Progress in Palestine

"In Arab as in Jewish Palestine the most striking fact is the growth of population. It has risen since 1920 from about 600,000 to about 950,000 and in this case, unlike the Jewish, the rise has been due in only a slight degree to immigration. No accurate estimate can be made of the number of Arabs who have come into Palestine from neighbouring of Arab lands and settled there, but it may be reckoned that roughly nine-tenth of the growth has been due to natural increase, and it has been a growth of over 50 percent, in 17 years."

* * *

"A steadily increasing number of effendi and other educated Arabs have obtained posts in the Government service since the British Occupation, and some of them high-salaried posts. Apart from that, it is difficult to detect any deterioration in the economic position of the Arab upper class. Landowners have sold substantial pieces of land at a figure far above the price it could have fetched before the War. Partly, no doubt, as the result of land-sales the effendi class has been able to make substantial investment of capital. Some of this has gone towards increased production, especially of fruit, from the land they have retained. At least six times more Arab-owned land is now planted with citrus than in 1920. Arab citrus plantations in the Maritime Plain now covers 135,000 dunums, and represent an investment of £6,500,000."

* * *

"Some of the capital has been directed to building houses for lease or sale or to industrial enterprise. The development of Arab industry, though not comparable, of course, with that of Jewish industry, has made progress. It appears from the Government Report for 1933 that the number of Arab "industrial undertaking," which was about 1,200 before the War, has risen to about 2,200. Among relatively large-scale industries are soap, flour milling, bricks and tiles, cigarettes and tobacco, cotton, wool and silk weaving, salt quarrying, stone and lime, bedsteads, nails, wearing apparel, confectionery, and alcoholic liquor. No official

statistics are available as to the amount of capital invested in this industrial field as a whole; but it has certainly increased in the course of the last few years, as has the amount of Arab bank deposits."

* * *

"It is the condition of the fellaheen, still the great majority of the Arab population, that must be regarded as the dominant factor in any estimate of the economic progress of Arab Palestine. It cannot, unhappily, be questioned that the standard of living among the fellaheen is still low. Like other agricultural communities they have suffered from the world-wide fall in prices. They have suffered, too, from severe and repeated droughts and consequent bad harvests. Some of the obstacles to their progress have been partially removed. Some of the cramping mash'a system of land tenure has been replaced by individual ownership. Their burden of debt has been eased. The Government has done much to relieve them by reducing and remitting taxation and providing loans. Tithe was reduced, commuted, and finally replaced by a more equitable tax on rural property. The development of cooperation has been slow and somewhat discouraging, but at least a beginning has been made and over 60 Arab Cooperative Societies are now in existence. There is evidence, moreover, that some fellahee are at any rate on the way to becoming better cultivators. If the great majority are still wedded to their old, primitive ways, there are some who are learning better methods, using better seed and better tools, under official guidance and inspection."

* * *

"The rate of wages has steadily gone up. The daily wage paid to an Arab for skilled labour is now from 250 to 600 mils, and for unskilled labour from 100 to 180 mils. In Syria the wage ranges from 67 mils in older industries to 124 mils in newer ones. Factory labour in 'Iraq is paid from 40 to 60 mils.'

"Nor is it only in the towns that the landless fellah finds a livelihood. The Government's programme of public works means a continuous demand for labour, and a large number of Arabs are employed on roads and bridges and the like. Moreover, the great expansion of citrus cultivation, Arab as well as Jewish, has greatly increased the demand for agricultural labour; and for that, too, the rate of wages has risen. For general agricultural work it was 80 to 120 mils a day in 1931, and 100 to 150 mils in 1935. For tree-planting and nursery work it was 100 to 150 mils in 1931, and 150 to 200 mils in 1935."

* * *

"The whole range of public services, the initiation of which we described in the preceding chapter, has steadily developed, to the benefit of the fellaheen. Except in periods of 'disturbance,' their lives and property have been reasonably safe. The civil rights have been safeguarded by the Courts. The growth in their numbers has been largely due to the health services, combating malaria, reducing the infant death rate, improving water supply and sanitation. Education, if as yet it only meets half the demand, has to that extent enabled the rising generation to profit more easily from the technical instruction given in the Arab Agricultural College or by official advisers in the villages. Better roads and quicker transport have meant higher returns on market produce. In sum, it may be said that though much more could have been done if more money had been available, the equipment of Palestine with social services is more advanced than that of any of its neighbours, and far more advanced than that of an Indian province or an African colony.

"It remains to examine the validity of the Jewish claim that this advance has been largely due to the establishment of the National Home. After considering the evidence submitted to us, both orally and in writing, by the Jewish representatives on this question, we have come to the following conclusions:

(i) The large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has had a general fructifying effect on the economic life of the whole country.

(ii) The expansion of Arab industry and citriculture has been largely financed by the capital thus obtained.

(iii) Jewish example has done much to improve Arab cultivation, especially of citrus.

(iv) Owing to Jewish development and enterprise the employment of Arab labour has increased in urban areas, particularly in the ports.

(v) The reclamation and antimalaria work undertaken in Jewish "colonies" have benefited all Arabs in the neighbourhood.

(vi) Institutions, founded with Jewish funds primarily to serve the National Home, have also served the Arab population. Hadassah, for example, treats Arab patients, notably at the Tuberculosis Hospital at Safad and the Radiology Institute at Jerusalem, admits Arab countryfolk to the clinics of its Rural Sick Benefit Fund, and does much infant welfare work for Arab mothers.

(vii) The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development. A comparison of the Census returns in 1922 and 1931 shows that, six years ago, the increase per cent. in Haifa was 86, in Jaffa 62, in Jerusalem 37, while in purely Arab towns such as Nablus and Hebron it was only 7, and at Gaza there was a decrease of 2 percent.

"The further claim, based on the Jewish contribution to revenue, seems to us indisputable. Arab witnesses could not deny that such public services as had in fact been provided had benefited their people; nor could they deny that the revenue available for those services had been largely provided by the Jews. It is impossible to calculate with anything like precision what share of taxation is borne by the Jews. But it is certain that much the greater part of the customs duties are paid by them, and the rising amount of customs revenue has formed from 1920 to the present day the biggest item in the rising total revenue."

20. ANGLO-AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE

Some official correspondence between the Government of the United States and the British Government concerning the Palestine Mandate and the Anglo-American Convention.*

Excerpts from a letter, dated November 20, 1920, of the American Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby to Lord Curzon, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

Draft of Mandate to be Communicated to the American Government

This Government notes with interest your statement that the draft mandates for Mesopotamia and for Palestine, which have been prepared with a view to secure equality of treatment and opportunity for the commerce, citizens and subjects of all states which are members of the League of Nations, will, when approved by the interested Allied powers, be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. The United States is, undoubtedly, one of the powers directly interested in the terms of the mandates, and I therefore request that the draft mandate forms be communicated to this Government for its consideration before their submission to the Council of the League. It is believed that His Majesty's Government will be the more ready to acquiesce in this request, in view of your assurance that His Majesty's Government is in full sympathy with the various principles contained in the two previous notes of this Government upon this subject.

The establishment of the mandate principle, a new principle in international relations, and one in which the public opinion of the world is taking a special interest, would seem to require the frankest discussion from all pertinent points of view. It would seem essential that suitable publicity should be given to the drafts of mandates which it is the intention to submit to the Council, in order that the fullest opportunity may be afforded

*Publications of the Department of State, Near Eastern series No. 1 ("Mandate for Palestine"), Washington, 1931.

to consider their terms in relation to the obligations assumed by the mandatory power and the respective interests of all Governments which are or deem themselves concerned or affected.

Exchange of Notes between the American Secretary of State and the Council of the League of Nations.

Excerpts from Secretary Colby's note, dated February 21, 1921:

League Council First to Obtain Expression of Opinion of American Government Before Acting on Mandates

The attention of the Council of the League of Nations is particularly invited to the request therein made on behalf of this Government that the draft mandate forms intended to be submitted to the League of Nations be communicated to this Government for its consideration before submission to the Council of the League, in order that the Council might thus have before it an expression of the opinion of the Government of the United States on the form of such mandates, and a clear indication of the basis upon which the approval of this Government, which is essential to the validity of any determinations which may be reached, might be anticipated and received. It was furthermore stated in said note that the establishment of the mandate principle, a new principle in international relations and one in which the public opinion of the world is taking especial interest, would seem to require the frankest discussion from all pertinent points of view, and the opinion was expressed that suitable publicity should be given to the drafts of mandates which it is the intention to submit to the Council in order that the fullest opportunity might be afforded to consider their terms in relation to the obligations assumed by the mandatory powers and the respective interests of all governments who deem themselves concerned or affected.

As one of the principal Allied and Associated powers, the United States has an equal concern and an inseparable interest with the other principal Allied and Associated powers in the overseas possessions of Germany, and concededly an equal voice in their disposition, which it is respectfully submitted cannot be undertaken or effectuated without its assent. The Government of the United States therefore respectfully states that it cannot regard itself as bound by the terms and provisions of said

mandate and desires to record its protest against the reported decision of December 17, last, of the Council of the League of Nations in relation thereto, and at the same time to request that the Council, having obviously acted under a misapprehension of the facts, should reopen the question for the further consideration which the proper settlement of it clearly requires.

Excerpts from the reply of President of the Council, Gastao Da Cunha, dated March 1, 1921:

*No Conclusion by the Council on Mandates Until it
Receives American Views*

The Council has taken several important decisions with regard to mandates which it confidently hopes will commend themselves to the American Government.

The Council had already determined on February 21 before the receipt of the American note, to postpone the consideration of the "A" mandates for former Turkish possessions, including Mesopotamia. No conclusions will therefore be reached with regard to "A" mandates until the United States Government has had an opportunity to express its views.

* * *

The Council invites the United States to take part in the discussions at its forthcoming meeting, when the final decisions as to the "A" and "B" mandates will, it is hoped, be taken. A problem so intricate and involved as that of mandates can hardly be handled by the interchange of formal notes. It can only be satisfactorily solved by personal contact and by direct exchange of opinion.

Excerpts from a letter of Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes to Lord Balfour, dated January 27, 1922:

Consent of United States to be First Obtained

An undertaking on the part of the British Government that it will not propose nor accept any modifications in the terms of the mandate without previous consultation with the Government of the United States would not, I fear, adequately meet the wish expressed in the memorandum of August last that the consent of the United States be obtained before any alteration is made in the text of the mandates.

Excerpts from a letter of American Ambassador George Harvey to Lord Curzon, dated April 5, 1922:

United States to be Consulted on Mandate

Modification of mandate.

My Government has observed the statement of Your Lordship in your note of December 22, to which you refer in your note of December 29, that it would be difficult to insert in the mandate itself a provision that the consent of the United States should be obtained before any alteration is made in the text of the mandate. My Government does not believe such an insertion to be necessary, in view of the fact, to which Your Lordship adverts, that there is "nothing to prevent the Mandatory giving a separate undertaking to this effect." Such an undertaking may be embodied in the proposed treaty. It would not, however, be deemed by my Government to be sufficient to provide merely for consultation with the United States.

Excerpts from the reply of Lord Curzon (through Lancelot Oliphant) to Ambassador Harvey, dated April 29, 1922:

*Anglo-American Correspondence Before
the Council*

Inasmuch as the terms of the Palestine mandate are to be recited in the treaty, it is necessary that those terms should be definitely settled before the treaty can be negotiated and signed. His Majesty's Government are, therefore, extremely anxious to obtain the approval of the Council of the League of Nations to the terms of the mandate at their meeting on May 11, even if the mandate cannot be actually issued at present, and for this purpose they desire, with the consent of the United States Government, to lay the correspondence between Your Excellency and myself before the Council of the League as showing that agreement between the two Governments has now been reached. I have, therefore, the honour to request the assent of the Government of the United States to this course being adopted, in which case the negotiation for the treaty will be entered into as soon as the terms of the mandate have been approved by the Council of the League.

Excerpts from a letter of the American Embassy

Counsellor Post Wheeler to Lord Curzon, dated, May 10, 1922:

Approval of Mandate Subject to American Assent

The Government of the United States appreciates the desire of His Majesty's Government to lay the terms of the draft mandate before the Council of the League of Nations at its forthcoming meeting, and has no objection to the procedure suggested in paragraph 5 of Your Lordship's note; provided that it is understood that the approval of the mandate given by the Council of the League shall not be deemed to be binding upon the United States but shall be subject to the assent of the United States upon the terms and conditions which have been set forth in our correspondence upon this subject.

Part of the Preamble to the Convention, proposed by Lord Curzon (through Launcelot Oliphant) to Ambassador Harvey, dated June 20, 1922:

The Balfour Declaration

Whereas by Article 95 of the treaty of peace with Turkey the High Contracting Parties agreed to entrust, by application of the provisions of the said Article 22, the administration of Palestine, within such boundaries as might be determined by the Principal Allied powers, to a mandatory to be selected by the said powers and further agreed that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied powers in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil or religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country, and

Excerpts from a letter of H. G. Chelton, the British Charge d'Affaires to Secretary of State Colby, dated July 5, 1922:

Mandate recited in the Convention

As the terms of the mandate are to be recited in the treaty,*

*Referring to the proposed Anglo-American Convention.

the latter cannot, of course, be finally concluded until the former have been approved by the Council of the League of Nations. His Majesty's Government are, however, not contemplating any modifications of substance in the text of the mandate except for the insertion in Article 25 of the phrase "with the consent of the League of Nations" between the words "be entitled" and "to postpone", and except for some modification of Article 14 as to which I am expecting a further communication.

Memorandum from the State Department to the British
Embassy, dated July 12, 1922

*Objection to the inclusion of reference to the Balfour
Declaration in the Preamble to the Convention:*

With respect to the preamble of the draft convention the following suggestions are submitted:

The third paragraph should be omitted. The paragraph does not appear to be explanatory of the reasons underlying the negotiation of the proposed convention and therefore seems to be unessential.

It is suggested that, as in the other conventions, merely the articles of the mandate and not the preamble should be recited.

A slight verbal change is suggested in the second paragraph of the preamble following the recital of the mandate.

As a substitute for the next two paragraphs a recital similar to that suggested with reference to the purpose of the other conventions is proposed.

Excerpts from a letter of Lord Curzon to Ambassador Harvey, dated October 2, 1922.

*Preamble to the Mandate, containing reference to the
Jewish Homeland, to be included in the Convention, with
special mention of the Congressional Palestine Resolution.*

His Majesty's Government are anxious if possible that the convention should contain a specific allusion to the policy of establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, having regard to the interest taken in this policy in the United States and the warm support which it has received in that coun-

try, of which the recent resolutions of both houses of Congress have afforded striking evidence. On this ground, and also because Article 2 of the mandate—which is in any case to be recited in to the insertion of the whole mandate, including the preamble, to the preamble to the mandate, His Majesty's Government hope that the United States Government will now be willing to agree to the insertion of the whole mandate, including the preamble, in the preamble to the convention. The United States Government will observe that the text of the preamble to the mandate, as now finally defined by the Council of the League at its recent session in London, a copy of which has already been furnished to you, contains no reference to the treaty of Sèvres or to the Turkish renunciation in favour of the principal Allied powers of all rights and title over Palestine, thus removing a difficulty to which the United States Government had previously drawn attention in their negotiations with His Majesty's Government on the question of this convention.

If the preamble to the mandate is thus to be recited together with the mandate in the preamble to the convention, His Majesty's Government would suggest that a shorter preamble might be adopted for the convention itself in the following sense:

Whereas for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations a mandate for the administration of Palestine, including therein the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, has been entrusted to His Britannic Majesty and

Whereas the terms of the mandate in respect of Palestine have been defined by the Council of the League of Nations as follows:

(Here insert terms of mandate in full) and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in the above terms in respect of Palestine and has undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations: and

Whereas the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States of America are desirous of reaching a definite understanding as to the rights of their respective countries and of their nationals in Palestine:

His Britannic Majesty and the President of the United States of America have decided to conclude a conven-

tion to this effect and have nominated as their plenipotentiaries . . . who . . . have agreed as follows:

This shortened preamble has been specially drafted with a view to avoid those difficulties to which the United States Government have drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government. With regard to the reference to the states by which the mandatory has been selected, it will be seen that the draft merely records that in fact His Britannic Majesty has been selected to be the mandatory for Palestine. As this selection has been accepted by all parties, specific reference to the powers who were actually present at the meeting where the selection was made, in the body of the preamble to the convention seems quite immaterial.

If the United States Government, however, still find difficulty in accepting the insertion of the preamble to the mandate in the preamble to the draft convention, and if they see any serious objection to the shortened form of the preamble given above, His Majesty's Government would reluctantly be prepared in the last resort to accept the draft of the preamble as suggested by the United States Government, provided, however, that, in order to meet the desire of His Majesty's Government, regarding a reference in the convention to the policy of establishing a national home for the Jews in Palestine, the United States Government would agree to insert an additional recital immediately after the third recital in the preamble to the United States draft of the convention in something like the following terms:

Whereas the Government of the United States have recognised the decision of the principal Allied powers that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd November 1917 by His Britannic Majesty's Government and adopted by the other Allied powers in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil or religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

21. THE PALESTINE MANDATE

Allocated to Great Britain, at the Allied Conference of San Remo, April 25, 1920. Done in London, July 24, 1922. Came into force, September 29, 1923:

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:—

Article 1

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 5

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred

to in article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 8

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned privileges and immunities on the 1st August, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works,

services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 12

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14

A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method

of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17

The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

Article 20

The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and

archæological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations.

(1)

'Antiquity' means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorized by the competent Department.

(6)

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest.

(7)

Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23

The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Article 24

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of articles 15, 16 and 18.

Article 26

The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 27

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 28

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations

shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations, and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London, the 24th day of July, 1922.

22. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVENTION*

Signed at London, December 3, 1924

Ratification Advised by the Senate, February 20, 1925

Ratified by the President, March 2, 1925

Ratified by Great Britain, March 18, 1925

Ratifications Exchanged at London, December 3, 1925

Proclaimed, December 5, 1925

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS a Convention between the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty with respect to the rights of the two Governments and their nationals in Palestine was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at London on the third day of December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four, the original of which Convention is word for word as follows:

Whereas by the Treaty of Peace concluded with the Allied Powers, Turkey renounces all her rights and titles over Palestine; and

Whereas article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles provides that in the case of certain territories which, as a consequence of the late war, ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, mandates should be issued, and that the terms of the mandate should be explicitly defined in each case by the Council of the League; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed to entrust the mandate for Palestine to His Britannic Majesty; and

Whereas the terms of the said mandate have been defined by the Council of the League of Nations, as follows:—

Here is recited the full text of the Palestine Mandate.**

and

Whereas the mandate in the above terms came into force on the 29th September, 1923; and

Whereas the United States of America, by participating in the war against Germany, contributed to her defeat and the defeat

*Also known officially as the Convention between the United States and Great Britain.

* See Chapter 2.

of her Allies, and to the renunciation of the rights and titles of her Allies in the territory transferred by them but has not ratified the Covenant of the League of Nations embodied in the Treaty of Versailles; and

Whereas the Government of the United States and the Government of His Britannic Majesty desire to reach a definite understanding with respect to the rights of the two Governments and their respective nationals in Palestine;

The President of the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty have decided to conclude a convention to this effect, and have named as their plenipotentiaries:—

The President of the United States of America:

His Excellency the Honourable Frank B. Kellogg,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the
United States at London:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

The Right Honourable Joseph Austen Chamberlain,
M.P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for
Foreign Affairs:

who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

Article 1

Subject to the provisions of the present convention the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above.

Article 2

The United States and its nationals shall have and enjoy all the rights and benefits secured under the terms of the mandate to members of the League of Nations and their nationals, notwithstanding the fact that the United State is not a member of the League of Nations.

Article 3

Vested American property rights in the mandated territory shall be respected and in no way impaired.

Article 4

A duplicate of the annual report to be made by the Mandatory

under article 24 of the mandate shall be furnished to the United States.

Article 5

Subject to the provisions of any local laws for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the nationals of the United States will be permitted freely to establish and maintain educational, philanthropic and religious institutions in the mandated territory, to receive voluntary applicants and to teach in the English language.

Article 6

The extradition treaties and conventions which are, or may be, in force between the United States and Great Britain, and the provisions of any treaties which are, or may be, in force between the two countries which relate to extradition or consular rights shall apply to the mandated territory.

Article 7

Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States.

Article 8

The present convention shall be ratified in accordance with the respective constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties. The ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as practicable. The present convention shall take effect on the date of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof, the undersigned have signed the present convention, and have thereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, this 3rd day of December, 1924.

(Seal)

Frank B. Kellogg

(Seal)

Austen Chamberlain

AND WHEREAS the said Convention has been duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two Governments were exchanged in the city of London on the third day of December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five;

NOW, THEREFORE, be it known that I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Convention to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington, this fifth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fiftieth.

(Seal)

Calvin Coolidge

By the President:

Frank B. Kellogg
Secretary of State

23. BINGHAM-EDEN CORRESPONDENCE

Correspondence between Ambassador Robert W. Bingham, for the United States Government, and Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the British Government, regarding American rights in Palestine:

No. 1

Mr. Bingham to Mr. Eden.

The American Ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to inform Mr. Eden that the United States Government would be glad to receive at the earliest possible moment a detailed elucidation of the official British position, having regard to the terms of the American-British Convention of the 3rd December, 1924, on the question of consulting the United States Government with respect to any changes that may be proposed in Palestine as the result of the Report of the Royal Commission.

Embassy of the United States of America,
London, July 6, 1937.

No. 2.

Mr. Eden to Mr. Bingham.

Foreign Office,
London, July 7, 1937.

Your Excellency,

With reference to your Excellency's memorandum of the 6th July, I have the honour to inform you that, in the view of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the rights of the United States Government and their nationals in regard to Palestine depend on the terms of the "Convention between the United Kingdom and the United States of America respecting the rights of the Governments of the two countries and their respective nationals in Palestine," which was signed in London on the 3rd December, 1924,⁽¹⁾ and of which the ratifications were exchanged in London on the 3rd December, 1925. The rights of the United States Government and their nationals as regards Palestine are those recited in Articles 2 to 6 of the Convention, and in Article 7 of the Convention these rights must

remain intact whatever changes may be made in the Mandate for Palestine, unless the United States assent to such a change.

2. In the view of His Majesty's Government, however, these rights are limited to those specified in the Articles of the Convention referred to above, and the consent of the United States Government will therefore not be required to any changes in the Palestine Mandate unless the specific rights in question are thereby affected. Indeed, the United States having assented, by Article 1 of the Convention, to the Mandate as a whole, it follows that the United States Government have accepted the provision in Article 27 of the Mandate which lays down that the Mandate may be altered with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom propose to seek the consent of the Council of the League at its September session for any changes in the Mandate of Palestine which may be required as the result of the Royal Commission's Report; but, should any such changes affect any of the United States rights laid down in Articles 2 to 6 of the Convention referred to above, His Majesty's Government will immediately inform the United States Government and seek their consent thereto.

3. While the foregoing represents the views of His Majesty's Government as to their legal obligations towards the United States Government in the matter, they fully appreciate, and indeed welcome, the interest taken by the United States Government in the question of the solution of the Palestine problem, and it is their intention to keep the United States Government fully informed of any proposals which they may put forward to the Council of the League for the modification of the Mandate.

I have, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

No. 3

Mr. Bingham to Mr. Eden.

Embassy of the United States of America,
London, August 4, 1937.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th July, 1937, concerning the rights of the United States and its nationals in Palestine, as determined by the American-British Convention of the 3rd December, 1924.

Since the receipt of the above-mentioned note, the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Palestine has been published, and my Government has noted that the Commission proposes that the Mandate for Palestine should terminate and

be replaced by a treaty system in accordance with the precedent set in Iraq and Syria. In this general connection, His Majesty's Government will recall that at the time of the termination of the special relations between the United Kingdom and Iraq in 1932, the United States Government set forth in some detail its views regarding its rights relating to the termination of mandatory régimes. At the request of my Government, which was anxious to have its views in this matter receive wide publicity, His Majesty's Government was good enough to transmit copies of that correspondence to the League of Nations, and the text of the correspondence was reproduced in the League of Nations Official Journal for January 1933. The attitude of the American Government, as revealed by this correspondence, was summed up in two paragraphs, one of which appeared in a letter dated the 1st March, 1932, from the First Secretary of this Embassy to the Head of the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office, and the other in an aide-mémoire, dated the 8th July, 1932, left at the Foreign Office by this Embassy. For convenience of reference these paragraphs are quoted below:—

“Since the termination of a régime in a mandated territory necessarily involves the ‘disposition’ of the territory and affects the interests of American nationals therein, the right of the United States to be consulted with respect to the conditions under which the territory is subsequently to be administered is on precisely the same basis as its right to be consulted with regard to the establishment of a mandatory régime.”

“Accordingly, the American Government desires to make a full reservation of its position in this matter and, with a view to avoiding any possible misconception which may arise in the future, to make clear that its action in refraining from insisting upon a fulfillment of its rights in the case of Iraq is not to be construed as an abandonment of the principle established in 1921 that the approval of the United States is essential to the validity of any determination which may be reached regarding mandated territories.”

The views of my Government as set forth in the above-mentioned correspondence are, of course, fully applicable to the proposed termination of the Palestine Mandate, and it is pertinent to add that those views were brought to the attention of the French Government in August 1936 during the negotiations between the French Government and a Syrian delegation looking to the termination of the Syrian Mandate. It is hardly necessary,

however, to repeat the assurances heretofore communicated to His Majesty's Government that the position of my Government as set forth in the quoted correspondence is based exclusively on its obligation and purpose to provide for the protection of American interests in Palestine on a basis of equality with those of other Governments and their nationals.

In expressing satisfaction and appreciation for the assurances furnished that His Majesty's Government intends to keep the United States Government fully informed of any proposals which may be made to the Council of the League of Nations for the modification of the Palestine Mandate, I am instructed to request that these proposals may be communicated to my Government in ample time to enable it to determine what, if any, observations it may desire to make with a view to the preservation of American rights in Palestine.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),
HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,
Counselor of Embassy.

24. BRITISH WHITE PAPER (1939) ON PALESTINE

Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command
of His Majesty, May 1939

STATEMENT OF POLICY

In the Statement of Palestine, issued on 9th November, 1938, His Majesty's Government announced their intention to invite representatives of the Arabs of Palestine, of certain neighbouring countries and of the Jewish Agency to confer with them in London regarding future policy. It was their sincere hope that, as a result of full, free and frank discussion, some understanding might be reached. Conferences recently took place with Arab and Jewish delegations, lasting for a period of several weeks, and served the purpose of a complete exchange of views between British Ministers and the Arab and Jewish representatives. In the light of the discussions as well as of the situation in Palestine and of the Reports of the Royal Commission and the Partition Commission, certain proposals were formulated by His Majesty's Government and were laid before the Arab and Jewish delegations as the basis of an agreed settlement. Neither the Arab nor the Jewish delegations felt able to accept these proposals, and the conferences therefore did not result in an agreement. Accordingly His Majesty's Government are free to formulate their own policy, and after careful consideration they have decided to adhere generally to the proposals which were finally submitted to, and discussed with, the Arab and Jewish delegations.

2. The Mandate for Palestine, the terms of which were confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1922, has governed the policy of successive British Governments for nearly 20 years. It embodies the Balfour Declaration and imposes on the Mandatory four main obligations. These obligations are set out in Articles 2, 6 and 13 of the Mandate. There is no dispute regarding the interpretation of one of these obligations, that touching the protection of and access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites. The other three main obligations are generally as follows:—

- (i) To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the

establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and to encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the land.

(ii) To safeguard the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion, and, whilst facilitating Jewish immigration and settlement, to ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced.

(iii) To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the development of self-governing institutions.

3. The Royal Commission and previous Commissions of Enquiry have drawn attention to the ambiguity of certain expressions in the Mandate, such as the expression "a national home for the Jewish people", and they have found in this ambiguity and the resulting uncertainty as to the objectives of policy a fundamental cause of unrest and hostility between Arabs and Jews. His Majesty's Government are convinced that in the interests of the peace and well-being of the whole people of Palestine a clear definition of policy and objectives is essential. The proposal of partition recommended by the Royal Commission would have afforded such clarity, but the establishment of self-supporting independent Arab and Jewish States within Palestine has been found to be impracticable. It has therefore been necessary for His Majesty's Government to devise an alternative policy which will, consistently with their obligations to Arabs and Jews, meet the needs of the situation in Palestine. Their views and proposals are set forth below under the three heads, (I) The Constitution, (II) Immigration, and (III) Land.

I. THE CONSTITUTION

4. It has been urged that the expression "a national home for the Jewish people" offered a prospect that Palestine might in due course become a Jewish State or Commonwealth. His Majesty's Government do not wish to contest the view, which was expressed by the Royal Commission, that the Zionist leaders at the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration recognised that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration. But, with the Royal Commission, His Majesty's Government believe that the framers of the Mandate in which the Balfour Declaration was embodied could not have intended

that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country. That Palestine was not to be converted into a Jewish State might be held to be implied in the passed from the Command Paper of 1922 which reads as follows:—

“Unauthorised statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that ‘Palestine is to become as Jewish as England is English.’ His Majesty’s Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated . . . the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the (Balfour) Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine.”

But this statement has not removed doubts, and His Majesty’s Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish State against their will.

5. The nature of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was further described in the Command Paper of 1922 as follows:

“During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organisation for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organisations, its own language, its own customs, its own life,

has in fact 'national' characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognised to rest upon ancient historic connection."

6. His Majesty's Government adhere to this interpretation of the Declaration of 1917 and regard it as an authoritative and comprehensive description of the character of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It envisaged the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world. Evidence that His Majesty's Government have been carrying out their obligation in this respect is to be found in the facts that, since the statement of 1922 was published, more than 300,000 Jews have immigrated to Palestine, and that the population of the National Home has risen to some 450,000, or approaching a third of the entire population of the country. Nor has the Jewish community failed to take full advantage of the opportunities given to it. The growth of the Jewish National Home and its achievements in many fields are a remarkable constructive effort which must command the admiration of the world and must be, in particular, a source of pride to the Jewish people.

7. In the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, in October, 1915, undertook to recognize and support Arab independence. The validity of this claim, based on the terms of the correspondence which passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sharif of Mecca, was thoroughly and carefully investigated by British and Arab representatives during the recent conferences in London. Their Report, which has been pub-

lished, states that both the Arab and the British representatives endeavoured to understand the point of view of the other party but that they were unable to reach agreement upon an interpretation of the correspondence. There is no need to summarise here the arguments presented by each side. His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the Report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State.

8. His Majesty's Government are charged as the Mandatory authority "to secure the development of self-governing institutions" in Palestine. Apart from this specific obligation, they would regard it as contrary to the whole spirit of the Mandate system that the population of Palestine should remain for ever under Mandatory tutelage. It is proper that the people of the country should as early as possible enjoy the rights of self-government which are exercised by the people of neighbouring countries. His Majesty's Government are unable at present to foresee the exact constitutional forms which government in Palestine will eventually take, but their objective is self-government, and they desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine State. It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and Jews, share authority in government in such a way that the essential interests of each are secured.

9. The establishment of an independent State and the complete relinquishment of Mandatory control in Palestine would require such relations between the Arabs and the Jews as would make good government possible. Moreover, the growth of self-governing institutions in Palestine, as in other countries, must be an evolutionary process. A transitional period will be required before independence is achieved, throughout which ultimate responsibility for the Government of the country will be retained by His Majesty's Government as the Mandatory authority, while the people of the country are taking an increasing share in the Government, and understanding and co-operation amongst them are growing. It will be the constant endeavour of His Majesty's Government to promote good relations between the Arabs and the Jews.

10. In the light of these considerations His Majesty's Government make the following declaration of their intentions regarding the future government of Palestine:—

(1) The objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future. This proposal for the establishment of the independent State would involve consultation with the Council of the League of Nations with a view to the termination of the Mandate.

(2) The independent State should be one in which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded.

(3) The establishment of the independent State will be preceded by a transitional period throughout which His Majesty's Government will retain responsibility for the government of the country. During the transitional period the people of Palestine will be given an increasing part in the government of their country. Both sections of the populations will have an opportunity to participate in the machinery of government, and the process will be carried on whether or not they both avail themselves of it.

(4) As soon as peace and order have been sufficiently restored in Palestine steps will be taken to carry out this policy of giving the People of Palestine an increasing part in the government of their country, the objective being to place Palestinians in charge of all the Departments of Government, with the assistance of British advisers and subject to the control of the High Commissioner. With this object in view His Majesty's Government will be prepared immediately to arrange that Palestinians shall be placed in charge of certain Departments, with British advisers. The Palestinian heads of Departments will sit on the Executive Council, which advises the High Commissioner. Arab and Jewish representatives will be invited to serve as heads of Departments approximately in proportion to their respective populations. The number of Palestinians in charge of Departments will be increased as circumstances permit until all heads of Departments are Palestinians, exercising the administrative and advisory functions which are at present performed by British officials. When that stage is reached consideration will be given to the question of converting the Executive Council into a Council of Ministers with a consequential change in the status and functions of the Palestinian heads of Departments.

(5) His Majesty's Government make no proposals at this stage regarding the establishment of an elective legislature. Nevertheless they would regard this as an appropriate constitutional development, and, should public opinion in Palestine hereafter show itself in favour of such a development, they will be prepared, provided that local conditions permit, to establish the necessary machinery.

(6) At the end of five years from the restoration of peace and order, an appropriate body representative of the people of Palestine and of His Majesty's Government will be set up to review the working of the constitutional arrangements during the transitional period and to consider and make recommendations regarding the constitution of the independent Palestine State.

(7) His Majesty's Government will require to be satisfied that in the treaty contemplated by sub-paragraph (1) or in the constitution contemplated by sub-paragraph (6) adequate provision has been made for:—

(a) the security of, and freedom of access to, the Holy Places, and the protection of the interests and property of the various religious bodies.

(b) the protection of the different communities in Palestine in accordance with the obligations of His Majesty's Government to both Arabs and Jews and for the special position in Palestine of the Jewish National Home.

(c) Such requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by His Majesty's Government in the light of the circumstances then existing.

His Majesty's Government will also require to be satisfied that the interests of certain foreign countries in Palestine, for the preservation of which they are at present responsible, are adequately safeguarded.

(8) His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into being within ten years. If, at the end of ten years, it appears to His Majesty's Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of the independent State, they will consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations and the neighbouring Arab States

before deciding on such a postponement. If His Majesty's Government come to the conclusion that postponement is unavoidable, they will invite the co-operation of these parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date.

11. During the transitional period steps will be taken to increase the powers and responsibilities of municipal corporations and local councils.

II. IMMIGRATION

12. Under Article 6 of the Mandate, the Administration of Palestine, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced", is required to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions". Beyond this, the extent to which Jewish immigration into Palestine is to be permitted is nowhere defined in the Mandate. But in the Command Paper of 1922 it was laid down that for the fulfilment of the policy of establishing a Jewish National Home.

"it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment."

In practice, from that date onwards until recent times, the economic absorptive capacity of the country has been treated as the sole limiting factor, and in the letter which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister, sent to Dr. Weizmann in February 1931* it was laid down as a matter of policy that economic absorptive capacity was the sole criterion. This interpretation has been supported by resolutions of the Permanent Mandates Commission. But His Majesty's Government do not read either the Statement of Policy of 1922 or the letter of 1931 as implying that the Mandate requires them, for all time and in all circumstances, to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine subject only to consideration of the country's economic absorptive capacity. Nor do they find anything in the Mandate or in subsequent Statements of Policy to support the view that the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine cannot be

* Hansard, Vol. 248, 13-2-31, Cols. 751-7.

effected unless immigration is allowed to continue indefinitely. If immigration has an adverse effect on the economic position in the country, it should clearly be restricted; and equally if it has a seriously damaging effect on the political position in the country, that is a factor that should not be ignored. Although it is not difficult to contend that the large number of Jewish immigrants who have been admitted so far have been absorbed economically, the fear of the Arabs that this influx will continue indefinitely until the Jewish population is in a position to dominate them has produced consequences which are extremely grave for Jews and Arabs alike and for the peace and prosperity of Palestine. The lamentable disturbances of the past three years are only the latest and most sustained manifestation of this intense Arab apprehension. The methods employed by Arab terrorists against fellow-Arabs and Jews alike must receive unqualified condemnation. But it cannot be denied that fear of indefinite Jewish immigration is widespread amongst the Arab population and that this fear has made possible disturbances which have given a serious setback to economic progress, depleted the Palestine exchequer, rendered life and property insecure, and produced a bitterness between the Arab and Jewish populations which is deplorable between citizens of the same country. If in these circumstances immigration is continued up to the economic absorptive capacity of the country, regardless of all other considerations, a fatal enmity between the two peoples will be perpetuated, and the situation in Palestine may become a permanent source of friction amongst all peoples in the Near and Middle East. His Majesty's Government cannot take the view that either their obligations under the Mandate, or considerations of common sense and justice, require that they should ignore these circumstances in framing immigration policy.

13. In the view of the Royal Commission, the association of the policy of the Balfour Declaration with the Mandate system implied the belief that Arab hostility to the former would sooner or later be overcome. It has been the hope of British Governments ever since the Balfour Declaration was issued that in time the Arab population, recognizing the advantages to be derived from Jewish settlement and development in Palestine, would become reconciled to the further growth of the Jewish National Home. This hope has not been fulfilled. The alternatives before His Majesty's Government are either (i) to seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration, against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country; or (ii) to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home

by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it. The former policy means rule by force. Apart from other considerations, such a policy seems to His Majesty's Government to be contrary to the whole spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, as well as to their specific obligations to the Arabs in the Palestine Mandate. Moreover, the relations between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine must be based sooner or later on mutual tolerance and goodwill; the peace, security and progress of the Jewish National Home itself require this. Therefore His Majesty's Government, after earnest consideration, and taking into account the extent to which the growth of the Jewish National Home has been facilitated over the last twenty years, have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle the second of the alternatives referred to above.

14. It has been urged that all further Jewish immigration into Palestine should be stopped forthwith. His Majesty's Government cannot accept such a proposal. It would damage the whole of the financial and economic system of Palestine and thus affect adversely the interests of Arabs and Jews alike. Moreover, in the view of His Majesty's Government, abruptly to stop further immigration would be unjust to the Jewish National Home. But, above all, His Majesty's Government are conscious of the present unhappy plight of large numbers of Jews who seek a refuge from certain European countries, and they believe that Palestine can and should make a further contribution to the solution of this pressing world problem. In all these circumstances, they believe that they will be acting consistently with their Mandatory obligations to both Arabs and Jews, and in the manner best calculated to serve the interests of the whole people of Palestine, by adopting the following proposals regarding immigration:—

(1) Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if economic absorptive capacity permits, will bring the Jewish population up to approximately one-third of the total population of the country. Taking into account the expected natural increase of the Arab and Jewish populations, and the number of illegal Jewish immigrants now in the country, this would allow of the admission, as from the beginning of April this year, of some 75,000 immigrants over the next five years. These immigrants would, subject to the criterion of economic absorptive capacity, be admitted as follows:

(a) For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed, on the understanding that a shortage in any one year may be added to the quotas for subsequent years, within the five-year period, if economic absorptive capacity permits.

(b) In addition, as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance is ensured, special consideration being given to refugee children and dependents

(2) The existing machinery for ascertaining economic absorptive capacity will be retained, and the High Commissioner will have the ultimate responsibility for deciding the limits of economic capacity. Before each periodic decision is taken, Jewish and Arab representatives will be consulted.

(3) After the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it.

(4) His Majesty's Government are determined to check illegal immigration, and further preventive measures are being adopted. The numbers of any Jewish illegal immigrants who, despite these measures, may succeed in coming into the country and cannot be deported will be deducted from the yearly quotas.

15. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, when the immigration over five years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in facilitating, nor will they be under any obligation to facilitate the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population.

III. LAND

16. The Administration of Palestine is required, under Article 6 of the Mandate, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," to encourage "close settlement by Jews on the land," and no restriction has been imposed hitherto on the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews. The Reports of several expert Commissions have indicated that, owing to the natural growth of the Arab population and the steady sale in recent years of Arab land to Jews, there is now in certain areas no room for further transfers of Arab land, whilst in some other areas such transfers of land must be restricted if Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life

and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to be created. In these circumstances, the High Commission will be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land. These powers will date from the publication of this statement of policy and the High Commissioner will retain them throughout the transitional period.

17. The policy of the Government will be directed towards the development of the land and the improvement, where possible, of methods of cultivation. In the light of such development it will be open to the High Commissioner, should he be satisfied that the "rights and position" of the Arab population will be duly preserved, to review and modify any orders passed relating to the prohibition or restriction of the transfer of land.

18. In framing these proposals His Majesty's Government have sincerely endeavoured to act in strict accordance with their obligations under the Mandate to both the Arabs and the Jews. The vagueness of the phrases employed in some instances to describe these obligations has led to controversy and has made the task of interpretation difficult. His Majesty's Government cannot hope to satisfy the partisans of one party or the other in such controversy as the Mandate has aroused. Their purpose is to be just as between the two peoples in Palestine whose destinies in that country have been affected by the great events of recent years, and who, since they live side by side, must learn to practise mutual tolerance, goodwill and co-operation. In looking to the future, His Majesty's Government are not blind to the fact that some events of the past make the task of creating these relations difficult; but they are encouraged by the knowledge that at many times and in many places in Palestine during recent years the Arab and Jewish inhabitants have lived in friendship together. Each community has much to contribute to the welfare of their common land, and each must earnestly desire peace in which to assist in increasing the well-being of the whole people of the country. The responsibility which falls on them, no less than upon His Majesty's Government, to co-operate together to ensure peace is all the more solemn because their country is revered by many millions of Moslems, Jews and Christians throughout the world who pray for peace in Palestine and for the happiness of her people.

25. THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION ON THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER

(Geneva, June 8th-29th, 1939)

1. In September, 1937, His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being desirous of working out a settlement of the Palestine problem, was authorized by the Council of the League of Nations to study the practical application of a scheme of partition recommended by the Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the late Lord Peel, involving the creation of an independent Arab State and an independent Jewish State, while certain parts of the country were to remain under the administration of the mandatory Power. The Commission set up by the mandatory Power for this purpose visited Palestine in 1938, and reached conclusions which led His Majesty's Government to decide that the proposed solution was impracticable. In a resolute attempt to bring about an understanding between the opposing sections of the population of Palestine, the United Kingdom Government organized in London, in the early part of 1939, conferences at which exchanges of views took place between Ministers of the Crown on the one hand, and the representatives of the Arabs and of the Jews on the other. The discussion failed to bring about the desired agreement, and His Majesty's Government accordingly considered itself free to formulate its own policy.

2. In these circumstances, it communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on May 20th, 1939, a document entitled "Palestine — Statement of Policy," in which such a policy is laid down. It requested

the Secretary-General to have the document circulated to the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission at the same time as to the members of the League of Nations. The former had also received the document direct from the United Kingdom Government.

3. At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations on May 22nd, 1939, moreover, the representative of the United Kingdom announced the communication of the document to his colleagues. The representative of France pointed out that the proposed terms of settlement would be submitted to the Mandate Commission. The representative of Latvia, speaking as Rapporteur to the Council on mandates questions, said :

"The Council would no doubt be called upon to deal with the question at a later session. In the meantime, the Permanent Mandates Commission, which would meet in ordinary session in June, 1939, would have an opportunity of examining the recent decisions of the United Kingdom Government."

4. The Mandates Commission had the honor of hearing the Right Honorable Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who came to Geneva to explain his Government's intentions as more briefly set out in the White Paper. The Secretary of State also expounded his reasons for believing that the policy was in conformity with the provisions of the Palestine mandate.

5. The Commission desire to recall these facts to show why, though neither the mandatory Power nor the Council had expressly invited it to state its opinion on this matter, it nevertheless felt bound, having regard to the circumstances in which the question was brought to its notice, to give its careful consideration and to communicate to the Council such observations as that examination might suggest.

6. The Commission considered the problem at its

meetings on June 15th, 16th, 17th and 20th, with the assistance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and his advisers. After discussing the matter at its meetings on June 21st, 22nd, 24th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th, it then drew up the present observations.

7. In submitting them to the Council, the Commission desires, in the first place, to pay a sincere tribute to the Government of the mandatory Power for the consideration which on this occasion it has once more shown to the League of Nations, and for this further proof of its attachment to this institution. The Commission was particularly grateful to the Secretary of State for the clarity of his statements and for the inexhaustible patience with which he lent himself to the long and arduous exchange of views which the Commission was privileged to have with him.

8. Being anxious both to formulate as concisely as possible its conclusions and at the same time, in a matter of such importance and complexity, to leave no doubt as to any of the considerations by which it has been inspired, the Commission ventures to draw the particular attention of the Council to the minutes of its meetings of June 21st and 22nd. In the minutes of the proceedings will be found a full statement of the grounds for opinions which are here only indicated briefly.

9. From the first, one fact forced itself to the notice of the Commission—namely, that the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine mandate.

In order to prove this, it will be enough to say that, only two years ago, the Government of the mandatory Power declared, in the statement of policy which accompanied the

report published by the Royal Commission, that the present mandate was unworkable. In view of this, the Mandates Commission communicated to the Council its opinion that a mandate which was declared unworkable by the mandatory Power almost became so by that very fact.

10. In 1937, there was already a conflict between Jewish and Arab aspirations, which the United Kingdom Government admitted its inability to reconcile; that conflict was the principal obstacle to Palestine's being administered in accordance with the mandate. Since that time, the conflict has become more and more intense. In 1937, the United Kingdom Government, feeling itself unable equitably to administer Palestine under the present mandate, believed that the possibility of so doing was to be found in a territorial partition for which no provision was made therein, while today it considers its policy to be in accordance with the mandate. Does this not show that that instrument had at that time a different meaning in the eyes of the mandatory Power from that which it has today?

11. The Commission did not, however, confine itself to establishing this single fact. It went on to consider whether the Palestine mandate might not perhaps be open to a new interpretation which, while still respecting its main principles, would be sufficiently flexible for the policy of the White Paper not to appear at variance with it. The Commission was all the less reluctant to raise this question since, according to the mandatory Power, no such contradiction existed. The Commission learned from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the mandatory Power considered, on the strength of the opinion expressed by its legal advisers, that, in view of the changed situation, the policy which it proposed to pursue was in agreement

with the mandate, itself based on Article 22 of the Covenant and on the Balfour Declaration.

12. During the examination of this latter question, divergent views were found to exist among the members of the Commission.

13. In view of these divergencies, and of the resultant inability of the Commission to submit on this point conclusions which would be both definite and unanimous, it can only refer the Council to the Minutes of its meetings for an account of the individual views of its members.

14. As will be seen therein, four of the latter* did not feel able to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate, any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors.

15. The other members, three in number,** were unable to share this opinion; they considered that existing circumstances would justify the policy of the White Paper, provided the Council did not oppose it.

16. All the members agree in thinking that the considerations put forward in the report of the Royal Commission of 1937 and in the preliminary opinion presented by the Mandates Commission in August of the same year have not lost their relevance; the solutions envisaged in these two documents (excluding the setting-up of two independent States withdrawn at the outset from mandatory control) should be borne in mind at the appropriate moment.

* The representatives of Belgium, Holland, Norway and Switzerland.

** The representatives of Great Britain, France and Portugal.

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